

A Collection
Of such *ANSWERS* and *REPLIES*
WHEREIN
THE BOOK OF *SCHISME*
Is defended
Against the *OPPONENTS* of the
Roman-Catholick-
Partie.

By
HEN: HAMMOND, D. D.

The third Volume.

L O N D O N,
Printed for R. ROYSTON, at the Angel in Ivie-lane.
M. DC. LVII.

A Collection

Of Fishes and

Whales

THE BOOK OF

Isaiah

Against the Opponents of the

Church

in

THE HANNOVER

The third volume

Printed by J. J. Johnson, 1840

A R E P L Y

TO THE
CATHOLICK GENTLEMANS

A N S W E R

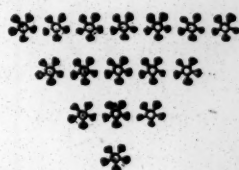
TO

The most materiall parts of the
Booke of SCHISME.

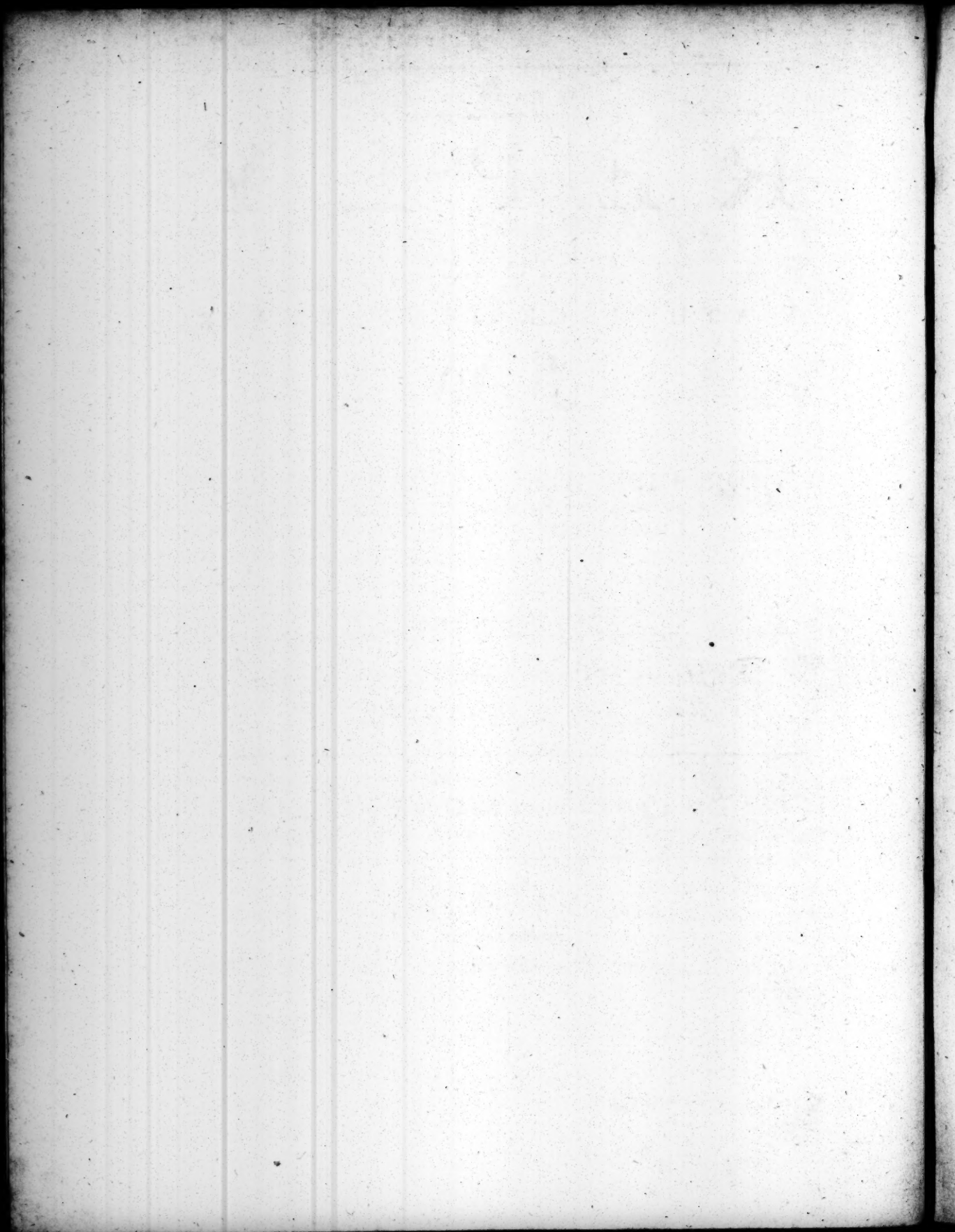
Whereto is annexed,

An Account of *H.T.* his *Appendix* to
his *Manual of Controversies*, concerning the
Abbot of Bangors Answer to Augustine.

By H. HAMMOND, D.D.



L O N D O N,
Printed by J. G. for R. ROYSTON, at the
Angel in Ivie-lane. 1654.





A R E P L Y

T O

*The Catholick Gentlemans Answer
to the Book of SCHISME.*

The Introduction.

N^o. I.



He Letter from the Catholick Gentleman, which undertakes to have answered the most materiall parts of the Book of Schisme, is said to expect some account from me. And I shall give it, if not quite, with the same brevity, yet directly in the same method which he hath chosen, attending him, as he shall please to lead, not by resuming the whole matter againe, but by reflecting on those few passages, which he hath thought good to take notice of, and freeing them from all though the lightest exceptions, which he hath made to them.

2. Upon this account, I shall say very little to his Proem in these words,

SIR,

You have been pleased to send me Doctor Hammonds Booke of Schisme, or a Defence of the Church of England, against

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the

the exceptions of the Romanists, as also your Letters, wherein you lay commands on me to read it, and thereupon to give you my opinion: truly Sir, both the one and the other could never have come to me in better season, for having heard from some of my friends in England a good while since, of another Book, written by Doctor Ferne to the same purpose, as also one lately came out, of the Bishop of Derries, and of this which you have sent me, I was wondring what those, who call themselves of the Church of England, could say to defend themselves from Schisme; but now through your favour of letting me see this of Doctor Hammonds, I am freed from my bondage, and satisfied, in supposition, that the most can adde little to what hath been upon that subject of Schisme said by him, whom you stile Wise and Learned, and well may he be so; but here he hath failed, as all men must that take in hand to defend a bad cause, which I thinke to make appeare to you, or any indifferent judge, and which I will doe rather upon some observations of severall passages in his book, than consideration of the whole, which I will leave for some other, who hath more leisure. In the meane time I must say with the Poet, speaking of some Lawyers in his time,

*Fur es, ait Pedio, Pedius quid? Crimina raris
Librat in Antithetis:*

The Roman Catholick sayes to Doctor Hammond, You are an Heretick, you are a Schismatick, and Doctor Hammond replies good English, some Criticismes, much Greek, with many citations out of antiquity, indifferent to both parts of the question.

3. I shall not here need solemnly to avert the good words bestowed on me, because 1. if they had been meant in earnest, they have yet no influence on the matter in hand; As unlearned a Man, as I, and as learned as he, which is by some characters thought to be the Author of this Answer, may agree in this common fate, that as one is not able to defend a bad cause, so the other hath not in any eminent manner betrayed a good: 2. because 'tis evident, that it was designe, and artifice to bestow the good words on me, that so he might get

get himseffe the easier taske: And therefore the onely thing that is here necessary for me to tell the Reader, by way of *Proæme*, is, that since the publishing this *tract of Schisme*, that most excellent discourse on the same subject, written by the *Bishop of Derry* hath truly made that former care of mine very *unnecessary*, and so should in all reason have been undertaken and answered by this *Catholick Gentleman*, if he had really designed to *satisfie conscience* in this *question*. And should it be believed by him, what here he saith in the *Title page*, that he hath answered the *most materiall parts* of *Doctor Hammonds Book of Schisme*, yet I can assure him he is so much mistaken in his *supposall*, that there *can little be added by any to what hath been said by him*, that he is in all justice to undeceive the Reader, and make him *amends* by giving him not a *slight*, but *punctuall answer* to every part of that *Bishops Booke*, before he thinke he may safely charge the *Church of England* with *Schisme*, as still he adventures to doe.

4. Having said this, I shall make no kinde of *Reply*, to the rest of his *Proæme*, but proceed immediately to his first and onely *exception*, wherein the *first Chapter* is concerned.



CHAP. I.

Of the cause of Schisme being left out of this debate.

SECT. I.

No cause able to justify Schisme. Every voluntary Division a Schisme, whatsoever the motive were. Master Knot's Testimony.

Num. 1.

His words are these,

But to draw neere your satisfaction, His first Chapter is, for the body of it, common to both parts, yet I cannot omit one strange piece of Logick at the end of the first Chapter, Sect. 9. where he concludeth, that the occasion or motive of Schisme is not to be considered, but onely the fact of Schisme, Of which position I can see no connexion to any premises going before, and it selfe is a pure contradiction, for not a Division, but a causelesse division is a Schisme, and how a Division can be shewed to be unreasonable and causelesse, without examining the occasions and motives, I doe not understand, nor (with his favour) I thinke he himselfe.

2.

What want of Logick there is in that conclusion of the first Chapter, which extorted this animadversion from the Romanist, and what store of that faculty (somewhat necessary to the managing of a controversie) we are to expect from him, will soon be discernible by the view of that place which is accused by him, where having premised the criminousnesse and weight of Schisme, and unexcusablenesse of all, that, upon what provocation soever, breake the unity of the Church, I conclude that he that shall really be guilty of it, and the fact, wherein that guilt consists, proved against him will no way be able to defend himselfe by pleading the cause or motive to his Schisme, there being no such cause imaginable, which can justify this fact of his, as both out of Irenaeus and Saint Augustine

gustine had been newly vouched. Upon which, my resolution there, was (as to me seemed) but necessary, to divolve the whole debate into this one *quare*, whether we of the Church of England were *de facto*, guilty of this crime, were Schismatics or no, concluding that if we were, there were nothing to be said in *excuse* of us.

3. From this view of the τὰ λογικόν, the rational importance of that Section, 1. It is evident (what the Romanist professeth not to be able to see) what is the connexion of my position to the premises foregoing, viz. this, no cause can excuse the Schismatick, therefore the examination of the cause is unnecessary, whatsoever can be pretended on that head, is not worth the producing or heeding in this matter.
4. 2. 'Tis as evident how farre the position it selfe is removed from being a contradiction, which yet the Romanists Logick hath pronounced to be a pure one. A pure contradiction is in our Logick, *est* and *non est*, *It is a Schisme*, and *It is not a Schisme*, *It is causelesse*, and *it is not causelesse*, and the like. But certainly my concluding that *no cause can justifie a Schisme*, or if the Schisme be proved, tis in vain to plead that we had cause for it, contains no such contradictory enuntiations. He that should say that a Seditious person or a Rebell, is worthy of death whatsoever cause it were that incited him to that villanie, doth neither affirme the Rebell to be no Rebell, nor the cause he pretends, to be no cause, onely he saith indeed, that whatsoever the cause be, 'tis incompetent to justifie so foule a fact.
5. 3. The prooffe, which he addes to conclude this position to be a pure contradiction, is very farre from proving it. The proof is this, for, saith he, *not a division, but a causelesse division is a Schisme*. But this hath been shewed to have no truth in it, because Division and Schisme being exactly the same, one a Latine, the other a Greek word, every Division is and must necessarily be, in him who is guilty of it, a Schisme, and if a voluntary Division, a criminous Schisme, whatsoever were the motive or cause of it, by Division or Schisme understanding (as I declare my selfe to doe) a spontaneous receding, or dividing from the unity of the Church, not being cut off or driven from it.

Lastly,

6. Lastly, what he addes as a *confectary* of his proof, that [he doth not understand how a Division can be shewed unreasonable and causelesse, without examining the occasions and motives] he may now, if he please, without much difficulty comprehend, viz. by considering, that no cause or reason, how weighty soever, is sufficient to justify a division. For as long as this is either proved or granted, the conclusion will be indubitable, without examining of the motives, that the Division is unreasonable and causelesse. Let it once be granted or proved by the known Lawes of a Nation, that every act of Sediti-*on* is a transgression of Law, criminous and punishable, whatsoever the motive be that incited it, and then there will need no more than conviction of the fact, to conclude that fact unreasonable. That which is in it selfe so culpable and inexcusable, that no reason whatsoever can be able to justify it, is ready for the sentence of condemnation, without farther pro-*cesse*; when 'tis reasonably resolved, that no reason can excuse such a fact, what reason can there be to lose time in examining reasons? This is the very case in hand, as 'tis apparent to any that will but view the place, and 'tis not much for my encouragement in this taske, that the Gentleman, to whom I must reply, was willing to think this so deep a riddle, so much above common understandings.

7. I shall here only adde, that what was thus said, was not in reason so provoke the Romanist, being a concession that cut me off from many visible advantages, and so deserved his reward, much better than rebuke, and being thus early and unexpectedly fallen under his short displeasure, by my indeavour to oblige him, I have yet a shield, which promiseth me security from the continuance of it, I meane not the evidence of the truth affirmed by me, (for that is not an amulet alwaies to be depended on, when it is against interest to acknowledge it) but the suffrage of his owne great Champion Master Knor, who hath directly affirm'd what I affirmed (and therefore I may be allowed not to understand, how this should be so unintelligible) citing it out of Saint Augustine, That there is no just necessity to divide unity, And that it is not possible that any man have just cause to separate—Infidel: un-
masked

masked, cap. 7. num. 5. And so it is as manifest that this part of the first Chapter is common to both, as the former of which he affirms it, the conclusion in all reason being involved in the same condition which belonged to the Premises, and it was onely my ill luck, or his willingnesse to finde fault, that it was not formerly apprehended to be so.

CHAP. II.

Concerning Heresie, Excommunication, Infallibility.

SECT. I.

Of passing slightly over the difference betwixt Heresie and Schisme.

Nũ. 1. **T**He exceptions to the second Chapter are three; the first concerning Heresie, the second concerning Excommunication, the third concerning Master Knots concession, which ushers in a Discourse of Infallibility.

2. The former in these words,

He slightly passeth over the distinction of Heresie and Schisme, as if he would not have it understood, that all Heresie is Schisme, though some Schisme be no Heresie.

3. What is here called the slight passing over the distinction of Heresie and Schisme, is one piece of injustice in him, and the cause to which it is affixt, my unwillingnesse that it should be understood that all Heresie is Schisme, will soon appear to be another.

4. For the first, It is evident that in that Sect. 3. of Chap. 2.

I do not at all consider the distinction of Heresie, and Schisme, nor could, without absolute interruption and disturbance of the discourse in hand, & direct transgression of all rules of method, say any thing to that subject, in that place. The thing that I there manifest is the difference betwixt Excommunication and Schisme (and sure that is not Heresie and Schisme, unlesse Excommunication be Heresie, and so the punishment of the Sin be the Sin it selfe) between the passive and the active, or reciprocal division or separation, and all that I say in

that *Section*, which can relate to *Heresie*, is, that where the offence, for which a man is excommunicated, is *Heresie* and not *Schisme*, there it is evident, that his *Excommunication*, which still is his *punishment* and not his *sinne* (the *cause* of it also being not *Schisme*, but somewhat else, *Heresie*, or the like) cannot be the *guilt* of *Schisme* in him that is so *punished*.

5. Now it is evident, that I cannot be said to *passee over* that *slightly*, which I do not speak to *at all*, and to which I had no *occasion* to *speake*, and consequently that I was no way lyable to this *exception*.

6. And that being said, the second part of the same *exception*, that of the *ground* on which I do this, must needs be as *causelesse* as the former. For 1. 'tis certaine, that my *thoughts*, or *wishes*, or *designes*, are not things which can duely fall under this *objecters cognizance* (he cannot upon any sure grounds, *divine* or *affirme*, what I aimed at in such or such a *slight passage*) and 2. 'tis yet more certaine, that no *collection* can justly be made from my doing that *slightly*, which I did not meddle with *at all*. But then 3. to remove all *scruple* or possible occasion of *jealousie* in this matter, 'tis the *designe* of *Chapter 8.* (the method then leading to it) under a second sort of *Schisme*, to consider the *departure* from the *Unity* of the *Faith*, which being but a *periphrasis* of *Heresie*, is consequently the defining all *Heresie* is *Schisme*, and so the profest avowing of that, which he suspected me *unwilling* to have *understood*. And so still there is not the least appearance of *justice* in this suggestion.

SECT. II.

Excommunication how it differs from *Schisme*. *Wilfull continuance* under *consures* is *Schisme*. The *Bishop* of *Rome* is not our *Lawfull Governour*. The *severe conditions* of their *Communion*.

Num. 2.

HIs second *exception* is perfectly of the same making with the former, thus,

Againe

2. Again, saith he, treating of Excommunication, he easily slideth over this part, that wilfull continuance in a just Excommunication maketh Schisme.
3. Here againe 'tis evident, that I treat not of Excommunication, nor have any occasion fitly to treat of it, farther than to shew, that Schisme, being a voluntary separation, the word in no propriety pertaines to that act of the Governour of the Church, whereby he separates or cuts off any by way of Censures. Certainly he that is put to death by Sentence of Law, cannot be judged a Felo dese, one that hath voluntarily put himselfe out of the number of the living, or be liable to those forfeitures which by the Law belong to such. He that is banished out of the Kingdome cannot be guilty of the breach of that Statute, which forbids all Subjects going out of it, nor be punished justly for that which is his suffering, not his deed; his punishment, not his delinquency.
4. As for his wilfull continuance under just Censures, the wilfulnesse of that, certainly makes him culpable, and the continuance in Excommunication, being also continuance in separation from the Church, which is Schisme, whensoever it is voluntary, I make no doubt of the consequence, that such wilfull continuance in Excommunication, be it just or unjust, is actuall Schism, supposing (as the word wilfull must suppose) that this continuance is wholly imputable to the will of the Excommunicate, i.e. that if he will submit to that which is lawfull for him to submit to, he may be absolved and freed from it.
5. If this were it, that he would have had more explicitly affirmed, then I answer, that as there I had no occasion to speak to it, so now upon his slightest demand I make no scruple to give him my full sense of it, that he, which being cast into prison for just cause, may upon his Petition, and promise of Reformation be released, or if the cause were unjust, may yet without doing any thing any way unlawfull, regain his Liberty, from thenceforth becomes not the Magistrates, but his owne Prisoner, and is guilty of all the damage, be it disease, famishing, death it selfe, which is consequent to his imprisonment. And the analogie holds directly in Excommunication;

He that continues under the *Censures* of his *Ecclesiastical Ruler*, when he might fairely obtaine *absolution* from them, is by *himselfe* sentenced to the continuance of this punishment, as by the *Governor* of the *Church*, to the beginning of it. But then all this while this is not the condition of *our Church*, in respect of the *Church of Rome*, they being not our *Lawful Superiors*, indued with *jurisdiction* over us, and for other *communion*, such as alone can be maintained or broken among fellow-brethren, or *Christians*, it is carefully maintained by us, as farre as it is *lawfully* maintainable.

6. And both these being there evidenced in that, and the ensuing *Chapters*, I did not *warily* or *purposely* abstaine from (because I had nothing that suggested to me any opportunity of) saying any thing more to this purpose. The *severe conditions* which are by the *Romanists* required of us to render us capable of their *communion*, *subscription* of error, or *profession* against *Conscience*, make it *impertinent* to propose or *discusse* either of these two questions, 1. *Whether we lye under a just excommunication*, 2. *Whether, if we did, we would wilfully continue under it, or consequently, whether we be now guilty of Schisme in this notion?*

SECT. III.

Mr. Knots concession and conclusion. The power of a fallible Church to require beliefe. Of Antiquity, Possession, Perswasion of Infallibility, Motives for Union. Uncertainty of the Protestants reasons. The grand Heresie and Schisme of not believing Rome infallible. Beliefe sufficient without infallibility. Fictions of Cases.

Num. I.

THe third exception inlargeth to some length, in these words,

2. *What he calls Master Knots concession, I take to be the publike profession of the Roman or Catholike Church, and that nature it selfe teacheth all rationall men, that any Congregation that can lye, and knoweth not whether it doth lye or no, in any*
pro-

proposition, cannot have power to binde any particular to believe what shee saith, neither can any man of understanding have an obligation to believe what shee teacheth, farther than agrees with the rules of his own reason: Out of which it followeth, that the Roman Churches binding of men to a profession of Faith (which the Protestants and other hereticall multitudes have likewise usurped) if shee be infallible, is evidently gentle, charitable, right, and necessary, as contrariwise in any other Church or Congregation, which pretends not to infallibility, the same is unjust, tyrannical and a selfe-condemnation to the binders: so that the state of the question will be this, whether the Catholick or Roman Church be infallible or no, for shee pretendeth not to binde any man to tenets or beliefs upon any other ground or title. By this you may perceive much of his discourse — to be not onely superfluous and unnecessary, but also contrary to himselfe, for he laboureth to perswade that the Protestant may be certaine of some truth, against which the Roman Catholick Church bindeth to profession of error, which is as much as to say, as he who pretendeth to have no infallible rule by which to governe his Doctrine, shall be supposed to be infallible, and he that pretendeth to have an infallible rule, shall be supposed to be fallible; as most because fallible objections are brought against him: now then consider what a meek and humble Son of the Church ought to doe, when of the one side is the Authority of Antiquity and Possession (such Antiquity and Possession without dispute or contradictions from the adversary, as no King can shew for his Crowne, and much lesse any other person or persons for any other thing) the perswasion of infallibility, all the pledges that Christ hath left to his Church for Motives of Union: on the other side, uncertaine reasons of a few men pretending to learning, every day contradicted by incomparable numbers of men Wise and Learned, and those few men confessing those reasons and themselves uncertaine, fallible, and subject to error, certainly without a bias of interest or prejudice, it is impossible for him to leave the Chrch if he be in it, or not returne if he be out of it: for if infallibility be the ground of the Churches power to command believe, as shee pretends no other, no time, no separation within memory of History, can justifie a continuance out of the Church;

Church: You may please to consider then how solid this Doctors discourse is, who telleth us, for his great evidence, that we, (saith he) who doe not acknowledge the Church of Rome to be infallible, may be allowed to make certaine suppositions (that follow there) The question is, whether a Protestant be a Schismaticke because a Protestant? and he will prove he is not a Schismaticke, because he goeth consequently to Protestant, that is Schismaticke grounds: I pray you reflect, that not to acknowledge the Church to be infallible is that for which we charge the Doctor with Schisme and Heresie in Capite, and more than for all the rest he holds distinct from us, for this principle taketh away all beliefe, and all ground of beliefe, and turneth it into uncertainty and weather-cock opinion, putteth us into the condition to be circumferri omni vento Doctrinæ, submitteth us to Atheisme and all sort of miscreancy, let him not then over-leap the question, but either prove this is not sufficient to make him a Schismaticke and an Heretick too, or let him acknowledge he is both.

3. *This discourse thus enlarged to the consideration of fallibility and infallibility in a Church, is certainly a digression in this place, and taking the occasion from some words of mine, Sect. 6. of a concession of Master Knots, it is a little necessary to recount, what concession that was, and the use that I there made of it, that so it may appeare, whether there were any thing blameable in my procedure.*
4. *The subject I was upon, Sect. 5. was the undoubted lawfulness of being and continuing excluded from any such Church, the conditions of whose communion containe Sin in them. To this head of discourse I mentioned a concession of Master Knots, that it is perfectly unlawful to dissemble, equivocate, or lye in matters of Faith, and this as a confirmation of my then present assertion, that when I am not permitted by the Romanists to have external communion with them, unlesse I doe thus dissemble, equivocate and lye, affirme my selfe to believe what I doe not believe, I may lawfully continue thus excluded from their communion. But then I could not justly conceale what Master Knot there added as his conclusion from hence (together with the acknowledged unlawfulness of forsaking the externall communion of Gods visible Church) that there-*

therefore the Church of Rome is infallible, because otherwise men might forsake her communion.

5. Here indeed I thought it very strange, that this conclusion should be thus deduced from such *premisses*, that it should be deemed *lawful* to separate from a Church for every error, or for no more but being *subject* to error, being *fallible*, though it were actually guilty of no error, which I conceived to be the same in effect, as to *affirme* it *lawfull* to forsake the communion of all but *Saints*, and *Angels*, and God in Heaven, because all others were *peccable* and *fallible*. But yet I thought not fit to goe farther out of my way to presse the *unreasonableness* of it, but contented my selfe with that, which was for my present turne, his confession that it was *lawful* to separate or continue in separation from the Church of Christ, in case we could not without lying, &c. be permitted to communicate with it.
6. This being the whole businessse, as it lyes visible to any in that 5. and 6. *Sett*. Let us now see what a confusion is made to gaine some small advantage from hence, or excuse for a long digression.
7. First it is the conclusion, viz. [that any Congregation that can lye, &c. cannot have power to binde any to believe what shee saith] which he saith is called by me *Master Knots concession*. But this is a great mistake, I never lookt on this as his concession, never called it by that title, but as a conclusion that he made a strange shift to deduce from another concession.
8. A concession, this Gentleman should in reason have understood to be somewhat which the Adversary yeilds, and which the disputer gaines advantage by his yeilding it, such was his assertion, that all lying and dissembling was unlawful, and that rather than that should be admitted, it were lawful to forsake the external communion of the Church of Christ. And that, and nothing but that, was by me cited as his concession.
9. Secondly, That conclusion it self, that the Congregation that is fallible cannot have power to binde to believe,—is not so much as considered by me in that place or else where; I said not one word

word against it, which might provoke this *objector* to take it up, and confirme it, neither was it in the least *needfull*, or pertinent to the matter then in hand, to enter into the *consideration* of it. All that was by me taken notice of (and that but in *passing*) was the *consequence* or *coherence* betwixt the *premisses* and that *conclusion*, which naturally inferred a third thing, that it was in *Mr. Knots* opinion, *lawful* to forsake the *Communion* of any fallible Church, which I thought by the way, would be sure to excuse us (though we should be granted to have forsaken and continued wilfully in Separation from the *Roman Church*) if it might but appeare, that either that were guilty of any one error, or lyable to fall into any one. And this being intirely all that was there said by me, there is no reason I should so far attend this Gentleman in his digression, as to consider what here he proceeds to say, upon his new-sprung subject of discourse, very distant from that of *Schisme*, to which I indeavoured to adhere, having elsewhere pursued at large, the *Romanists* other hypotheses concerning their Churches Infallibility.

10. Were it not thus remote from our matter in hand, and perfectly unnecessary to the defence of our Church from *Schisme*, I might discover farther many infirme parts in this procedure. I shall but briefly touch on some of them.

11. I. For the truth of that proposition [that a Congregation that can lye, i. e. a Church that is fallible, and knoweth not (i. e. hath no infallible certainty) whether it lye or no in any proposition, cannot have power to binde any to believe what she saith] I may certainly affirme, 1. That this is no infallible truth, being no where affirmed by any infallible speaker, or deduced from any infallible principle. For as to the *Scripture*, it is not pretended to be affirmed by that, and for *Natural Reason*, that cannot be an infallible Judge in this matter of defining what power may be, or is by God given to a Church, without defining it infallible. A Prince may no doubt be impowered by God to give *Lawes*, and those *Lawes* oblige Subjects to obedience, and yet that Prince never be imagined infallible in making *Lawes*. And natural reason cannot conclude it impossible

poſſible, that a Church ſhould have a proportionable power given it by God to binde belief, &c.

12. As for the *Catholick* or *Roman Church*, 1. that is a miſpriſion, the *Catholick* is not the ſingle *Roman Church*, nor the *Roman* the *Catholick*. 2. There no where appears any ſuch definition, either of the *Catholick*, i.e. *Univerſall Church of God*, or particularly of the *Roman Church*, no act of *Councell* representative of that Church, no known affirmation of that diffuſed body under the *Bishop of Rome's Paſtorage*, that all authority to oblige belief is founded in *Infallibility*. 3. If any ſuch definition did appear, it could no way be foundation of belief to us, who doe not believe that Church, or any definition thereof, as ſuch, to be infallible.
13. 2. If we ſhall but diſtinguiſh and limit the termes, 1. what is meant by [*can lie*] 2. By knowing or not knowing whether it lie or no, 3. By power to binde, 4. By belief (as every of theſe have a latitude of ſignification, and may be eaſily miſtaken, till they are duly limited) It will then ſoon appear that there is no unlimited truth in that which he ſaith is the whole Churches affirmation, nor prejudice to our pretenſions from that limited truth, which ſhall be found in it.
14. 1. The phraſe [*can lie*] may denote no more than ſuch a poſſibility of erring, as yet is joyned neither with actual error, nor with any principle, whether of deficiency on one ſide, nor of malignity on the other, which ſhall be ſure to betray it into error. Thus that particular Church, that is at the preſent in the right, in all matters of faith, and hath before it the Scripture to guide it in all its deciſions, together with the traditions and doctrines of the antient and Primitive Church, and having ſkill in all thoſe knowledges, which are uſefull to fetch out the true meaning of Scripture, and ability to inquire into the antient path, and to compare her ſelf with all other conſiderable parts of the *Univerſall Church*, and then is diligent and faithfull to make uſe of all theſe ſuccours, and in uprightneſs of heart ſeeks the truth, and applies it ſelf to God in humble, and ardent, and continuall prayer for his guidance to lead into all truth, This Church, I ſay, is yet fallible, may affirm and teach falſe, i.e. this is naturally poſſible that it may, but

it is not strongly *probable* that it will, as long as it is thus *assisted*, and *disposed* to make *use* of these *assurances*, and means of true *defining*.

15. 2. That *Churches knowledge*, whether it *define truly* or no in any *proposition*, may signify no more than a *full persuasion* or *belief* (*cui non subest dubium*, wherein they neither *doubt* nor apprehend *reason* of *doubting*) that what they *define* is the *very truth*, though for *knowledge* properly so called, or *assurance*, *cui non potest subesse falsum*, which is *unerrable* or *infallible* in strictness of *speech*, it may not have *attained*, or pretend to have *attained* to it.
16. 3. By *power to binde* may be meant no more than *authority* derived to them from the *Apostles* of *Christ* to make *decisions*, when difficulties arise, to prescribe *rules* for *ceremonies* or *government*, such as shall oblige *inferiors* to due *observance* and *obedience*, by force of the *Apostles* *πίθηκε ἡ ἐξουσία*, his precept to *obey* the *rulers* set over us in the *Church*, which we may doe without thinking them simply, or by any *promise* of *God*, *inerrable* or *infallible*, as the *obedience* which is due to *civil Magistrates*, which supposes in them a *power* of *binding* *subjects* to *obey*, doth yet no way suppose or imply them *uncapable* of *erring* and *sinning*, and giving *unreasonable* commands, and such as wherein it is *unlawfull* to yeild *obedience* to them.
17. Beside this, there may farther be meant by it a *generall obligation* that lies on all men, to *believe* what is with due grounds of *conviction* proposed to them, such as the *disbelieving* or *doubting* of it shall be in them *inseparable* from *obstinacy*; and this *obligation* is again the greater, when that which is thus *convincingly* proposed, is proposed by our *superiors*, from whose mouth it is regular to *seek* and *receive* *Gods will*.
18. Lastly, *Believing* may signify not an *implicite*, *irrational*, *blinde*, but a *well-grounded*, *rationall*, *explicite belief* of that which, as the *truth* of *God*, is *duely* proposed to us; or again, where there is not that degree of *manifestation*, yet a *consent* to that which is proposed as *most probable*, on the grounds afforded to judge by, or when the person is not competent to search

search grounds, a bare yeilding to the judgment of *superiours*, and deeming it better to adhere to them, than to attribute any thing to their own judgment, a *believing* so farre as not to *disbelieve*. And this again may *rationally* be yeilded to a *Church*, or the *Rulers* and *Governors* of it, without deeming them *inerrable* or *infallible*.

19. Nay, where the *proposition* defined is such, that every member of that *Church* cannot without *violence* to his understanding yeild any such degree of *belief* unto it, yet he that believes it not, may behave himself *peaceably* and *reverently*, either duely representing his grounds, why he cannot consent to it, or if his *subscription* or *consent* be neither *formally* nor *interpretatively* required of him, quietly enjoy his *contrary* opinion. And this may tend as much to the *peace* and *unity* of a *Church*, as the *perswasion* of the *inerrability* thereof can be supposed to doe.
20. By this view of the *latitude* of these terms, and the *limitations* they are capable of, it is now not so difficult to discern, in what sense the *proposition* under consideration is *false*, and in what sense it is *true*, and by us acknowledged to be so.
21. A *congregation* that is *fallible*, and hath no knowledge or assurance (*cui non potest subesse falsum*) that it is not deceived in any *particular proposition*, may yet have *authority* to make *decisions*, &c. and to require *inferiors* so farre to *acquiesce* to their *determinations*, as not to *disquiet* the *peace* of that *Church* with their *contrary* opinions.
22. But for any *absolute infallible belief* or *consent*, that no *Church*, which is not it self absolutely *infallible*, and which doth not *infallibly know* that it is *infallible*, hath power to require of any.
23. By this it appears in the next place, in what sense it is *true*, which in the following words is *suggested* of *Protestants*, that they *binde men* to a *Profession of Faith*, and how *injustly* it is added, that, *supposing them not to be infallible*, it is *unjust*, *tyrannical*, and *self-condemnation* to the *binders*. The *contrary* whereto is most evident, understanding the *obligation* with that *temper*, and the *infallibility* in that notion, wherein it is evident we understand it. For what *injustice* or *tyranny* &c.

can it be in any *lawful superior*, having defined what verily he believes to be the truth of *God*, and no way doubts of his having deduced it rightly from the *Scripture*, but yet knows that he, as a *man*, is *fallible* and that it is *possible* he may have some way *failed* in this, as in any other his most *circumspect* action, what *injustice*, I say, can it be, *authoritatively* to direct this *definition* to those, who are committed to his *charge*, and expect their due *submission* to it? meaning by *submission*, what I have here exprest to mean by it.

24. So again it appears of the *Roman Church*, how far it is from *gentle* or *charitable* in them to bind men to *profess*, as matter of *faith*, whatsoever is by that *Church* defined, upon this one account, that the *Church* is *infallible* & can't *erre*; when this very thing, that it is *infallible*, is not at all made *probab'e*, much lesse *infallibly* deduced frō any *reason* or *testimony* that is *infallible*.

25. Next then, when he saith, that *the state of the question will be this, whether the Roman Church be infallible or no*, I am not sure I know what *question* he means, whether the main *Question* on which the *Tract of Schisme* was written, i. e. whether the *Church of England* be *schismaticall* or no, or whether the *particular question*, which this *Gentleman* hath framed to himself in this place, Whether a *fallible Church* may have *power* to *binde* any to *believe* what she saith? But I suppose by some *indications*, that the latter is it, and then, as from hence I learn what he means by *infallible*, a *Church* that cannot *possibly* erre, all whose *definitions* are such, *quibus nequit subesse falsum*, so untill this be proved of that *Church*, I must be allowed to speak like one who think not my self *obliged* to the *belief* of it, and being sure of this, that a *Protestant* is or may be verily *perswaded* of some *truth*, against which the *Roman Church* bindeth to *profession* of *error* (meaning by *verily perswaded*, such a *certainty* only, *cui non subest dubium*, he hath no *doubt* nor reason to induce *doubting* of it.) I cannot imagine how that part of my *discourse*, wherein I have *supposed* or *asserted* this, can be either *superfluous*, *unnecessary*, or (whatever other *weakness* it be guilty of) *contrary* to my self. For certainly I that think I am *fallible*, may yet *verily believe*, without all *doubt*, the truth of many *propositions*, which

if

if I should affirm my self not to believe, I must doubtlesse lie, and then sin, by Mr. Knot's former concession. And 'tis as certain on the other side, that he that pretendeth to have an infallible rule, may yet foully mistake, both in that generall, originall, and in many other particular, derivative pretensions; His supposed infallibility, if it be not rightly supposed (and till it be proved, it will not be so) will be so farre from an amulet to keep him safe from all error, that it is the likeliest way to deliver him up to it, as the premature perswasion of his particular election may be the ingulping any, through security and presumption, in the most certain ruine.

26. In the proceffe of this discourse he is pleased to mention four advantages of the Roman Church above any other, Antiquity, possession, perswasion of Infallibility, the pledges that Christ hath left to his Church for motives of union, and nothing but uncertain reasons on the other side, which saith he, must make it impossible for any without interest or prejudice to leave the Church, if he be in it, or not return, if he be out of it.

27. To this imaginary setting of the scales between them and us, and particularly to the fourth advantage pretended to, the pledges that Christ left for motives of union, it is sufficient to reply in generall, that for us, which have not voluntarily separated, but are by them violently removed from communion with them, and cannot be admitted to reunion, but upon conditions, which without dissembling and lying we cannot undergoe, it is in vain to speak of motives or obligations to return to their communion. We that are bound, as much as in us lies, to have peace with all men, must not admit any known or wilfull sin in order to that most desirable end. And this one thing as alone it is pertinent to the matter in hand; that of schisme, so it is necessarily the concluding of this controversie, We that are not permitted to return, and so we are, if the conditions of our return be so incumbred, as to include sin, cannot with any justice or equity be charged for not returning.

28. Against this here is nothing said, any farther than the bare mention of the three other advantages on their side. And none of these are of any force to perswade our return, upon such conditions as these, much lesse to exact it as duty from us.

29. By *Antiquity* and *possession*, as *here* they are spoken of, I am apt to suppose he means not *antiquity* of the *Roman Church*, or the *present* doctrines (and therefore I shall not speak of them) but the *antiquity* of our *communion* with them (if he mean a *Possession* in the *belief* of the *Popes Universall Pastorship*, I shall have occasion to speak of that * hereafter.) And if this be granted, as for *fraternall communion*, and such as is due from one *sister Church* to another, it is willingly granted, then this will divolve the *blame* on those who are *guilty* of this breach, who have cast us out, and permit us no way of *returning* with a good *conscience*, And so this is little for the *Romanists* advantage.
- * *eb 7. Sect. 1.*
30. But if in stead of *fraternall communion*, it be *subjection* to the *Roman See*, that is by his words claimed, and pretended to by *possession*, then as we willingly grant to that *See* all that the *antient Canons* allowed to it, and so cannot in that respect offend against *Antiquity*, so what, contrary to those *Canons*, they have at any time *assumed*, and unlawfully *possess* themselves of, can no way be pretended to be their right, or they to be *bona fidei possessores*, true or fair *possessors* of it, which *qualification* and *condition* is yet absolutely necessary to found their plea from *possession*, and which alone can bear any proportion with that, which *Kings* can shew for their *crowns*, or *proprieties* for their *inheritances*.
31. Of this head of *possession*, or *prescription*, it were easie to adde much more, by considering that *claim* and *title*, by the known rules whether of the *Canon*, or *Civil Law*. The *Civil Law*, which is generally more *favourable* to *Prescription*, doth yet acknowledge many waies of *interrupting* it, as by calling it into *question*, and that is sufficiently done in some cases, *per solam conventionem*, by *citing*, or *summoning* the possessor, and when *contestatio litis*, the entering a *suit* is actually *required*, yet still he that appears to have caused the *impediment*, and kept it from coming to this *contestation*, is not to gain any *advantage* by his *guilt*, but *adversus eum lis habetur pro contestato*, he shall be lookt on, as if the *suit* had been actually *contested* against him. See *Bartolus* in *l. si eum S. qui injuriarum* in *fi. ff. si quis cant*:

But

32. But as to the *Canon Law*, which in all reason the *Catholick* is to own in this question, it is known that it admitteth not any the longest *prescription*, without the *bona fidei possessio*, (he that came by any thing *dishonestly*, is for ever obliged to *restitution*) and for the judging of that, allows of many waies of *probation*, from the *nature of the thing* (the course we have taken in this present debate) and from other *probable indications*, and where the appearances are *equal* on both sides, the *Law*, though it be wont to judge most *favourably*, doth yet incline to *question* the *honesty* of coming to the *possession*, and to presume the *dishonesty*, upon this account, because *mala fides*, *dishonesty* is presumed industriously to contrive its own *secrecie*, and to lie hid in those *recesses*, from which at a distance of time it is not easily fetcht out. So *Felinus* in *C. ult: de prescript: per leg: ult: C. unde vi*. And in a word, it is the affirmation of the *Doctors*, *presumi malam fidem ex antiquiore adversarii possessione*, the *presumption* is strong that the *possession* was not *honestly* come by, when it appears to have been *antiently* in the other hands, and the way of conveyance from one to the other is not *discernible*. See *Panormit: and Felinus in c. si diligenti X de prescript: Menochius arbitr: quæst: Casu 225. n. 4.* and others referred to by the learned *Grotius* in *Consil: Jurid: super iis qua Nassavii*— p. 36. &c. But I have no need of these *nicer disquisitions*.
33. As for the *perswasion* of *infallibility*, meaning, as they must, their *own perswasion* of it, that can have no *influence* upon us, who are sure that we are not so *perswaded*, unless the *grounds*, on which their *perswasion* is founded, be so convincingly represented to us, that it must be our *prejudice*, or other *vitious defect*, or *affection* in us, that we are not in the like manner *perswaded* of it. But on this we are known to *insist*, and never yet have had any such *grounds* offered to us: As may in some measure appear by the *view* of that *Controversie* as it lies visible in the Book, intituled, *The view of Infallibility*.
34. As for the *uncertainty* of the *reasons* on the *Protestants* side, by *uncertainty*, meaning *fallibility*, and the *potest subesse falsum*, whilst yet we are, without doubting, verily *perswaded* that our *reasons* have force in them; that cannot make it possible

possible for us to *believe* what we do not *believe*, or *lawfull* upon any the *fairest* intuition to *professe* contrary to our *belief*. I believe that *Henry VIII.* was *King* of this *Nation*, and the *reasons* on which I believe it, are, the *testimonies* of meer men, and so *fallible*; yet the bare *fallibility* of those *testimonies* cannot infuse into me any *doubt* of the *truth* of them, hath no force to *shake* that but *humane belief*, and while I thus *believe*, I am sure it were *wilfull sin* in me, though for the *greatest* and most pretious *acquisition* in my *view*, to *professe* I do not *believe* it. The like must be said of any other *perswasion* of mine, denied by the *Romanists*, and the *denying* whereof is part of the *condition* required of me to make me capable of *communion* with them.

35. But it is not now time to insist on this, both because here is nothing produced against it, and because here follows a much higher undertaking, which swallows up all these inferior differences between us, *viz.* that not to *acknowledge* the *Church* (that must be the *Roman Church*) to be *infallible*, is the great crime of *schisme* and *heresie* in capite, and more than all that I hold distinct from the *Romanists*.

36. This I acknowledge was not foreseen in the *Tract* of *Schisme*, and may serve for the *una litura*, the one answer to remove all that is there said. For if our *grand Fundamental schisme* and *heresie* be all summed up in this one *comprehensive* guilt, our not acknowledging the *Church* of *Rome* to be *infallible*, then it was and still is impertinent to discourse on any other subject but that one of *Infallibility*, for if that be gained by them to belong to their *Church*, I am sure we are concluded *Schismaticks*, and till it be gained, I am sure there is no reason to suppose it.

37. But then as this is a *compendious* way of answering the *Tract* of *Schism*, and I wonder, after he had said this, he could think it *seasonable* to proceed to make exceptions to any other particulars, this one great *mistake* of the *Question* being discovered, made all other more *minute* considerations *unnecessary* (as he that hath sprung a mine to blow up the whole *Fort*, need not set *wispes* of straw to severall corners to burn it) so it falls out a little unluckily, that this doth not *supersede*, but only

onely remove this *Gentleman's labour*, it being now as necessary that he should defend his *hypothesis* of the *Church of Rome's Infallibility*, against all that is formerly said by me on that *subject*, as now it was to make this *Answer* to the *Book of Schism*, and till that be done, or attempted to be done, there is nothing left for me to *reply* to in this matter.

38. For as to his bare *affirmations*, that the *not acknowledging* their *Infallibility* takes away all belief and ground of belief; turns all into uncertainty, &c. nay, submitteth to *Atheisme* and all sorts of *miscreancy*.] It is sure but a *mistake* or *misunderstanding* as of some other things, so particularly of the nature of belief; For beside that I may have other grounds of belief than the *affirmations* of the *Roman Church*, the authority of *Scripture* for the severalls contained in it, and the *Testimony* of the *universal Primitive* (that sure is more than of the present *Roman*) *Church*, to assure me that what we take for *Scripture* is *Scripture*, and to derive *Apostolical traditions* to me, and so I may believe enough without ever knowing that the *Roman Church* defines any thing *de fide*, but much more without acknowledging the *truth* of all she defines, and yet much more without acknowledging her *inerrable* and *infallible*: Beside this, I say, it is evident that *belief* is no more than *consent* to the *truth* of any thing, and the grounds of belief, such arguments as are sufficient to exclude *doubting*, to induce *conviction* and *perswasion*, and where that is actually induced, there is *belief*, though there be no pretense of *infallibility* in the argument, nor *opinion* of it in him that is *perswaded* by it.

39. That all that *God* hath said is *true*, I believe by a *belief* or *perswasion*, *cui non potest subesse falsum*, wherein I cannot be *deceived*, and there I acknowledge *infallibility* upon this ground, whether of *nature* or of *grace*, of *common dictate*, or of *religion*, that it is *impossible* for *God* to lie, to *deceive*, or to be *deceived*; But that the whole *Canon* of *Scripture*, as it is delivered to us by the *Laodicean Councel*, is the *Word* of *God*, though I fully believe this also, and have not the least doubt to any part of it, yet I account not my self *infallible* in this belief, nor can any *Church* that affirms the same, unlessse they

are otherwise *priviledged* by God, be *infallible* in *affirming* it, nor any that *believes* that *Church* be *infallible* in their *belief*; And as that *priviledge* is not yet proved by any *donation* of *Gods* to belong to any *Church*, particularly to the *Roman*, so till it be *proved*, and proved *infallibly*, it can be no competent *medium* to induce any new *act* of *Infallible belief*, the want of which may denominate us either *hereticks* or *schismaticks*.

40. In the mean time, this is certain, that I that doe not pretend to *believe* any thing *infallibly* in this matter, not so much as that the *Church* is not *infallible*, must yet be acknowledged to *believe* her *fallible*, or else I could not by this *Gentleman* be adjudged a *schismatick* for so *believing*: And then this supposeth that I may *believe* what in his *opinion* I *believe* *untru'y*, that sure is, that I may *believe* what I doe not *believe* *infallibly*. The matter is *visible*, I cannot think fit to *inlarge* on it.
41. One thing onely I must farther take notice of, the ground which he here had, on which he *sounds* his exception against the *solidity* of my *discourse*, calling it my *great evidence*, that we that doe not acknowledge the *Church* of *Rome* to be *infallible*, may be allowed to make certain *suppositions* that follow there.
42. The matter in that place *Chap. II. Sect. 12.* lies thus. In examining the nature of *schisme*, I have occasion to mention one (not *reall*, but) *fiction* of *case*; Suppose first that our *Ancestors* had *crimiously* separated from the *Church* of *Rome*, and suppose *secondly*, that we their *posterity* repented, and desired to *reform* their sin, and to be *reunited* to them; yet supposing *thirdly*, that they should require to our *reunion* any *condition* which were *unlawfull* for us to perform, in this conjuncture, I say, we could not justly be charged for continuing that *separation*.
43. This *fiction* of *case* I could not think had any weak part in it, for as it supposed that on one side, which I knew a *Romanist* would not grant, *viz:* that they should require any *condition* *unlawfull* for us to perform, so it supposed on the other side, that which we can no way grant, *viz:* that our *Ancestors* *crimiously* separated; But this I knew was ordinary to be done in *fictions* of *cases*; *Suppositio non ponit*, is the acknowledged

ledged rule, my *supposing* either of these was not the taking them for *granted*, And yet after all this, I foresaw that *objection*, that the *Romanist*, who acknowledges not any such hard condition required to our *reconciliation*, will conceive this an *impossible* case; And to this I answered, that we, that acknowledge not their *Church* to be *infallible* may be allowed to make a *supposition* (meaning as before a *fiction* of case) which is founded in the *possibility* of her *inserting* some error in her *confessions*, and making the acknowledgment of it the *indispensable* condition of her *communion*. What I have offended herein, I cannot imagine, for 1. I onely set a *fiction* of case, doe not take their *infallibility* for a thing confestly false, nor in that place so much as *dispute* against it, Only I say that which was sufficiently known before I said it, that their *Infallibility* is not acknowledged by us, and so that her *inserting* some error in her *Confessions*, is to us, i. e. in our *opinion* a thing *possible*, and so for *disputation* sake *supposable*, in the same manner as I suppose that which I am known not to *believe*, and if this *Gentleman* be thus *severe*, I shall despair to approve my *discourses* to him.

44. Secondly, that I make it my *great evidence*, is not with any appearance of *reason* suggested by him, It comes in meerly as an *incidentall*, last branch, the least necessary, most *unconsiderable* of any, and that which might have been *spared* then, or left out now, without any *weakning* of, or *disturbing* the *discourse*.
45. Thirdly, Whereas he adds, that I *proceed* to make certain *suppositions* that follow there, this is still of the same strein, I make but one *supposition*, viz: in case she make any *unlawfull* act the *indispensable* condition of her *Communion*, And that one certainly is not in the *plurall*, more, or indefinitely, certain *suppositions*.
46. That I put this one case as *possible*, and then proceeded to consider, what were by the *principles* acknowledged by all, particularly by Mr. *Knot*, to be done in that one case, was agreeable to the strictest *laws* of *discourse* which I have met with. And if in compliance with this *Gentleman*, I must deny my self such *liberties*, and yet yeild him so much greater, on

the other side, If I must at the *beginning* of a *defense* of the *Church* of *England*, be required to grant the *Church* of *Rome* *infallible*, i. e. to yeild not onely that she speaks *all* truth, but also that it is *impossible* she should speak any thing but *truth*, whom yet, by entring on this theme, I undertake to *contradict*, and to prove injurious in *censuring* us for *Schismaticks*, this were, as I have said, an *hard* task indeed, The very same as if I were required to begin a *duell* by presenting and delivering up all *weapons* into the *enemies* hand, to *plead* a cause, and *introduce* my defense by *confessing* my self *guilty* of all that the *plaintiffe* doth, or can have the confidence to *charge* upon me.

47. And if these be the *conditions* of a *dispute*, these will questionlesse be hard, whatsoever the *conditions* of our *reunion* be conceived to be, and moreover this *Gentleman* will be as *infallible* as his *Church*, and then 'tis pity he should lavish out *medicines*, that is so secured by *charms*, that he should defend his cause by *reasons*, which hath this one so much *cheaper* expedient, to *answer* a whole book in one *period*.

48. And so much for his *Animadversions* on this *second Chapter*, which are no *excellent* *presage* of that which we are to expect in the *insuing*.



CHAP. III.

Exceptions to the third Chapter answered.

SECT. I.

The Division of Schisme justified. Of Schisme against the authority of Councells. Of Unanimity of belief in the dispersion of the Churches.

Num. 1. **T**He exceptions against the third Chap: are reducible to 4 heads. The first about the insufficiency of the division of Schisme, in these words,

2. In his third Chapter, what is chiefly to be noted to our purpose, is, that his division is insufficient, for he maketh Schism to be only against Monarchicall power, or against fraternall charity, which is very much besides the principles of those Protestants, who pretend so much to the authority of Councels, we think he should have remembred there might be schisme against conciliatory authority, whether this be called so when the Councell actually sitteth, or in the unanimity of belief in the dispersion of the Churches, so that the Doctor (supposing he concluded against the Pope) hath not concluded himself no schismatick, being separated from the Catholick world.

And again in the next page, by way of recollection or second thoughts, thus,

But I must not forget here what I omitted to insert before, that in his division of Schisme he omitteth the Principall, if not indeed; and in the use of the word by the Antients, the onely schism, which is when one breaketh from the whole Church of God: for though a breach made from the immediate superior, or a particular Church, may in some sort, and in our ordinary manner of speaking be called a schisme, yet that by which one breaketh away from the communion of the whole Church, is properly, and in a higher sense called Schisme, and is that out of which the present

question proceedeth, whereas other divisions, as long as both parts remain in communion with the Universall Church, are not properly schismes, but with a diminutive particle, so that in this division he left out that part which appertained to the question.

3. My division of schism is that which I could not conceive subject to the exceptions of any rational man, of what persuasions soever; schism being a breach of unity and communion; as many sorts as were conceivable of unity and communion, so many, and no more, I set down of schisme, some as breaches of the subordination which Christ settled in his Church, others of mutuall charity, which he left among his Disciples.
4. For is it not evident, that all men in the world are either our superiors, or inferiors, or our equals? and can I break communion with any, as long as being an inferior, I live regularly under all my superiors, and brotherly with all my equals? There is certainly no place of doubt in this. When therefore in his second period here set down, he mentions it, as the principall, (and in the Antients use of the word) the onely Schism, when one breaketh from the whole Church of God, It is strange he should think that man was not comprised in either member of my division, when certainly he is guilty of both. For how can he separate from the whole Church, unlesse he separate both from his superiors and his equals too? And if he separate from both, then questionlesse he separates from one, and from more than one of them.
5. Was it possible for any care more solicitously to have prevented this exception, than that which by me was used, when among the branches of equality, with which every one is obliged to preserve unity and communion, I reckoned up, not only the believers of the same Congregation, &c. but the severall communities of Christian men from Parishes and Dioceses, to climes of the whole Christian world, Chap. 3. §. 5. And indeed it is a great piece of austerity, that when I have indeavour'd to prove that we of the Church of England have not voluntarily separated (and that onely is the crime of Schism) from any one particular Church, and no one of those proofs is invalidated, nor as yet so much as excepted against, it should yet

yet be thought seasonable to reply, that we have broken off from the whole Church of God.

6. Is not that whole made up of these severals, as a body of limbs, the universal of particulars? And can the hand be broken off from the whole body, when it is not broken off, but remains in perfect union with every part of the body? If the arm be broken from the body, the hand, which remains united to the arm, may yet be separate from the whole body, because by being fastned to the arm 'tis united but to one, and not to all the members of the body. But an union to all the members of the body supposes a separation from no one part that remains in the body, and sure that must be an union with the whole body, which is nothing else, but all the members together.
7. And so as his second thoughts were effects, not remedies of his forgetfulness, the very same, which he had mentioned before under the style of separation from the Catholick world, so certainly they were again effects of his inobservance, that his principall sort of schisme, separation from the whole Church, was comprehended by me under this style, separation from the severall communities of the whole Christian world.
8. As to the former branch of his exception, that in my division of schisme, into that which is against Monarchical (I said, and when he recites my words, he should doe so too, paternal) power, and that which is against fraternall charity, I omit to mention the authority of Councils, It is evidently a causlesse suggestion. For 1. if Councils, as he saith, have any authority, that will certainly be reducible to paternal power. And if they have none, any farther than by way of counsell and advice, that will directly fall under the head of fraternall charity.
9. Secondly, If by Councils he mean Provinciall Councils, it is evident that the power which severally belongs to the Bishops of each Province, is united in that of a Provinciall Council, where all the Diocesan Bishops are assembled, and the despising of that is an offence under the first sort of schisme, a breach of the subordination to the Bishop, yea, and the Metropolitan too, who presides in the Provinciall Council.
10. So again, if he mean Nationall Councils, the power of the Bishops

Bishops of all the *Provinces* there assembled, divolves upon this assembly, compounded of all of them, the *despising* thereof is the *despising* of these *Ecclesiasticall* *superiours* of the whole *nation*, and culpable, and *schismaticall* upon that account.

11. As for *Oecumenicall* or *Generall* *Councils*, if they be truly such, the power of all the *Bishops* of all the *Provinces* in all *Christian* nations divolves upon that, and so cannot be *despised* without *despising* of all ranks of our *Ecclesiasticall* *superiors*, *Bishops*, *Metropolitans*, *Primates* or *Patriarchs*, and therefore this sort of *schisme* could not be deemed to be omitted, where all those other branches, of which it is made up, were so particularly handled.

12. That any more *speciall* consideration was not taken of *Generall* *Councils* in that discourse, the account (beside that which is now given) is more than intimated in that *Traet* of *Schism*, pag. 60. first because they were *remedies* of *schisme*, and *extraordinary*, not any standing *Judicatures*, to which our *constant* *subordination* and *subjection* was required. 2. Because these were such, as without which the *Church* continued for the first 300 years, and so could not belong to a *generall* discourse, which spake of all the *certain* and *ordinary* and *constant* sorts of *schisme*, and such as all times were capable of, and enlarged not to those other of *accidentall* *emergencies*. 3. Because they are now *morally* impossible to be had, the *Christian* world being under so many *Empires*, and divided into so many *communions*, that it is not visible to the eye of man how they should be *regularly* assembled.

13. As for those that are already *past*, and are on due grounds to be acknowledged truly *Oecumenicall*, the *communion*, which is possible to be had or broken with them, is that of *compliance* with, or *recession* from their *definitions*, and our *innocence* in that respect is avowed, p. 160. as the congregating of the like (when *possible*, and *probable* toward the end) is recommended, p. 158. as a *supply*, when there should be need of *extraordinary* remedies.

14. Lastly, if none of this had been done, or if this had not been undertaken so solemnly and *formally*, as some other supposed

supposed branches of *schism* were, in that *Traſt*, yet the account of that is viſible to any, becauſe the principal ſort of *ſchiſme* charged by the *Romaniſt* on the *Church of England* is that of caſting out the *Biſhop of Rome*, not contemning the *authority of Councils*, and therefore I was in reaſon to apply my diſcourſe moſt largely and particularly to that head, to which their *objections*, not my own *choice* directed me. So evidently contrary to the notoriety of the fact is this complaint of this *Gentleman*, that my *diviſion of ſchiſm* was *inſufficient*, and that I took no notice of this (as he pleaſes to call it) *conciliatory authority*.

15. That to make his ſuggeſtion ſeem more probable, he adviſedly choſe to change the terms of my *diviſion* from that which was againſt *Paternal*, to that which is againſt *Monarchical* power, upon this apprehenſion, that *Paternal* power would viſibly include that of the *Fathers in Council* aſſembled, as well as in ſeveral; but *Monarchical* power could not ſo fitly bear it, I ſhall not enter into his ſecrets to divine. This I am ſure of, that the *unanimity of belief* in the *diſperſion* of the *Churches*, cannot with any propriety (as by him it is) be defined a branch of *Conciliatory authority*, for certainly the *Churches diſperſed* are not met together, the *διακονία* or *diſperſion* of the *Jewes* differed much from the *Council* aſſembled at *Jeruſalem*, and the *Chriſtian Church* at this day is without queſtion no *Oecumenical Council*.

16. And then what *authority ſcattered members* can have, which never legally command, or exerciſe authority, but when they are in *conjunction*, I ſhall not here make ſtay to demonſtrate: whatſoever there is of this nature will moſt properly be comprized under the head of *communion* or *unity Fraternal*, and the *ſchiſme* which is a *transgreſſion* of that, being at large handled alſo, *Chap. 8, 9, 10.* there was no *inſufficiency*, in any *juſtice*, to be charged on this *diviſion*.

Sect. II.

Of the extent of the Roman Province. The Bishops of Italy distinct from those that belong to Rome. The Ecclesiastical distributions agreeable with the Civil. Ruffinus vindicated.

- Num. 1. **T**He second charge on this Chapter is about the extent of the Roman Patriarchie, in these words:
2. *In this Chap: he telleth us many things, some true, some not so, but all either common to us both, or not appertaining to the controversie, untill he concludes, that certainly the Roman Patriarchie did not extend it self to all Italy, and this he does out of a word in Ruffinus, which he supposeth to be taken in a speciall propriety of law, whereas indeed that author's knowledge in Grammar was not such as should necessarily exact any such belief, especially learned men saying the contrary.*
 3. *The place, to which this exception belongs, is not set down by this Gentleman, but by annexing the testimony out of Ruffinus, I discern it to be that of pag. 52. where speaking of the Picenum suburbicarium and Annonarium, I say the former belonged to the Prefecture of Rome; the latter, with the seven Provinces in the broader part of Italy, belonged to the Diocese (as it was antiently called) of Italy, of which Milan was the Metropolis.*
 4. *This being the affirmation which he excepteth against, I did not, nor yet doe make any question of vindicating, and defending it against any objection.*
 5. *That learned men say the contrary, is here suggested, in the close, but as there is not one learned man named, nor testimony produced (which therefore amounts no higher than the bare opinion or affirmation of this one Gentleman, without any one reason or authority to support it) so when any such learned mens names and testimonies shall be produced, it will be easie to shew, that there is very little of their learning exprest in so saying.*
 6. *On the other side I had (pag. 50. in the margent) referred to some testimonies whereon my assertion was founded, viz: those which manifestly distinguish the Province of the Bishop of*

of Rome from the Province of Italy, which could not have had truth in them, if the Province of the Patriarch of Rome extended to all Italy.

7. Such was that of * Eusebius distinctly mentioning the Bi- * 1.7. c.λ.
shops of the Cities of Italy, and the Bishops that belong to the
City of the Romans. The testimony out of the Edict of the
Emperor Aurelian, in the controversie betwixt Paulus Samo-
satenus and Domnus, where it is decreed, that the house, about
which they contended, should be delivered οἷς ἀν οἱ χῆ τῶ
Ἰταλίαν καὶ τῶ Ῥωμαίων πόλιν ἐπίσκοποι * τῷ δόγματι ὁ δὲ ἐκ- * γρ: δια-
λοιεν, to those to whom the Bishops through Italy and the City of
the Romans should decree it.
8. The like was that of the Council of Sardice set down in
* Athanasius in the title of their Epistle to the Alexandrians, * Apoll: 2. ad
Thus, Ἡ ἁγία Σύνοδος ἡ καὶ θεῷ χάριν ἐν Σαρδικῇ συναχθεῖσα Imp: Const:
ἐπὶ Ῥωμῆς καὶ Ἑπανίων, Γαλλίων, Ἰταλίας, &c. The holy Synod Edit: Par:
by God's grace assembled at Sardice, from Rome, and Spain, Tom: 1.
France, Italy, &c. p. 756:
9. So in * Athanasius's declaration of his own affairs, and the * Ἐπισ: τοῖς
(συμφωνία) agreement of many Bishops with him, he specifies, μονήν βιδν
who and how many they were, πλείους δὲ ἦσαν ὅ ἐπὶ τῆς μεγά- ἀσκήσι,
λης Ῥώμης καὶ τῆς Ἰταλίας πάσης, Καλαβρίας τε, &c. There were Paris: Ed:
more than four hundred both from great Rome, and from all t. 1. p. 827.
Italy, and from Calabria, &c. Where the Bishops of the Roman C.
Province are distinguished from the Bishops of Italy, as those
again from the Bishops of Calabria, &c.
10. So among the names prefixt to the * first Council of Arles, * Concil:
we have ex provinciâ Italia, civitate Mediolanensi, &c. ex ur- tom: 1.
be Româ, quos Sylvester Episcopus misit ex Provinciâ Romanâ, p. 266.
civitate Portuensi, &c. of the Province of Italy, from the city
of Milan &c. from the city of Rome those whom Bishop Sylve-
ster sent, of the Province of Rome, from the City of Porta &c.
such and such were assembled at that Council, where again
the matter is clear as to the distinction of those Provinces of
Rome and Italy, the former under the presidency of the Bishop
of Rome, the later of the Bishop of Milan.
11. By this it might have appeared to this Gentleman (if as he
pleased to mention the much Greek, in his Preface, so he had
been

been at leisure to consider the importance of it) that beside the testimony (which he will call a word) of *Ruffinus*, I had made use of other waies of proof, that the presidency of the Bishop of Rome (I suppose that he must mean by the Roman Patriarchie) did not extend it self to all Italy.

12. Again after the testimony of *Ruffinus*, I mentioned another evidence, from the proportioning Ecclesiastical jurisdictions to the Temporal of the Lieutenants; This may appear in these;
 * Cont: Celf: 1.3. by the words of * *Origen*, of which I shall now, because I did not there, take notice, ἔτω δὲ καὶ ἀρχοντα ἐκκλησίας ἐκάστης πόλεως ἀρχοντὶ καὶ ἐν τῇ πόλει συνεκτέλειον, It is fit that the Prefect of the Church of each City, should correspond to the Governour of those which are in the City. And that so it was, appears by the second Canon of the Council of Constantinople, where the jurisdictions of the Bishops are still proportioned to the condition of the Cities where they were, the Bishop of Alexandria to have power over all Egypt, the Metropolis whereof was Alexandria, and so in the rest. And this is in the Tract of Schism largely deduced and cleared also, p. 54, 55, &c. and need not be here again repeated, And so here was more again than the word of *Ruffinus*, for what I said.

13. Lastly, that for which *Ruffinus* was cited, being but this, that the Bishop of Rome was authorized by the Nicene Canon to take care of the suburbicarian regions, I could not sure be mistaken in thinking, that he took the word suburbicarian in such a propriety (I say not of law, but) of common language, as will conclude the *Picenum suburbicarium* to belong to the Roman Prefecture, as the *Annonarium* did to the Diocese of Italy.

14. And certainly *Ruffinus*; that lived so neer after the Council of Nice, and that in Italy, a Presbyter of Aquileia, knew how that was distributed in his time, better than this Gentleman at this distance can pretend to doe, may also be allowed to know so much of Grammar, as to expresse his own sense (in a Paraphrase) of that Nicene Canon.

15. In a matter so clear I shall adde no more, but the words of a most excellent person, Jac: Leschasserius in his Consultatio ad Clarif: Venet: *Ruffino bellum indicunt scriptores Romani hujus temporis,*

temporis, &c. The Romanists of this time are displeased with Ruffinus, not knowing what Churches they were, which the Nicene Canon understands to be under the first and ordinary power of the Pope. Whereas Ruffinus understood it of the Churches of the suburbicarian Provinces and regions, which are four, the first the Roman, with the bounds of the Prefecture of the City, and three other with which that is incompass'd, All Campania, Picenum suburbicarium, and Tuscia suburbicaria, of which there is frequent mention in the *Notitia* of the Roman Empire. And of this the same Author hath written a learned Tract, And so here is a distinct testimony of a very learned man, and this is a sufficient answer to his bare indefinite affirmation that learned men say the contrary.

Sect. III.

The identity of the office of Primates and Patriarchs, the authorities of Gratian, and Anacletus, and Anicetus.

Num. I. **T**HE third charge wherein this third Chapter is concerned, remains about the identity of the office of Primates, and Patriarchs, in these words:

2. Then he telleth you that the office of Primates and Patriarchs He urgeth was the same, onely authorising that affirmation from an Epistle Gratian of Anacletus, the which, as soon as occasion serveth, he will tell too. you is of no authority, but fictitious.
3. What I said of Primates and Patriarchs, that though the Patriarchs had the precedence, in Councils, the deference in respect of place, yet the power and jurisdiction of Primates was as great as of Patriarchs, and the office the same, I thought had sufficiently been evidenced to the Romanist p. 58. For as one manifest indication of it was there mentioned, viz: that in Authors the very titles are confounded, witness Justinian who commonly gives Primates the name of Patriarchs of the Dioceses, so the reference to those two authorities so acknowledged and owned by the Romanists, the Epistle of Anacletus, and the Decree of Gratian, seemed to me to put it out of all question.

4. For in the *body* of their *Canon Law* corrected and set out by *Pope Gregory XIII.* as *Gratian's* decree makes up the first and principall part, so in that, *par: 1. distinct: 99.* we have these words, *De Primatibus autem quaritur quem gradum in Ecclesiâ tenuerint, an in aliquo à Patriarchis differant,* The question is made concerning *Primates*, what degree they have in the Church, and whether in any thing they differ from *Patriarchs.* And the answer is, *Primates & Patriarchæ diversorum sunt nominum, sed ejusdem officii,* *Primates* and *Patriarchs* are of different names, but of the same office.
5. What could have been said more punctually and expressly to the business in hand? What more authentick and dilucid testimony could have been produced to any *Romanist*, with whom I had to doe? And 'tis a little strange, that this Gentleman should say that I onely authorize my affirmation from an *Epistle of Anacletus*, and then either he, or some Supervisor for him, put in as a marginal note, *He urgeth Gratian too,* When 1. if I urged *Gratian*, I did not urge *Anacletus* onely; and 2. it is evident I did urge *Gratian* as punctually as *Anacletus*, and 3. *Gratian's* words are so expresse as nothing can be more, and 4. *Gratian's* authority with them is as great as any could have been produced; and 5. there is not one word offered to avoid the force of *Gratian's* testimony, as to that other of *Anacletus* there is, which argues that this Gentleman was concluded by *Gratian*, yet would not consent to the proposition unanswerably inferred from him. And this may suffice to be noted concerning that testimony.
6. Then for *Anacletus* 1. his words are these, *Provinciarum divisio ab Apostolis est renovata,* The division of Provinces was renewed by the Apostles, *Et in capite Provinciarum— Patriarchas vel Primates, qui unam formam tenent, licet diversa sint nomine, leges divina & Ecclesiastica poni & esse jusserunt, ad quos Episcopi, si necesse fuerit, confugerent, eosque appellarent,* And in the head of the Province— *Patriarchs*, or *Primates*, who hold the same form (are of the same nature) though they be divers names, are placed by divine and Ecclesiasticall laws, so that to them the Bishops, when 'tis needfull, may resort and make their appeals. This testimony again as punctuall to the purpose as could have been devised. And

7. And then *secondly*, this being by the *Romanists* received as a *Decretall Epistle* of that *Pope* and *antient Bishop* of *Rome*, was in reason, whatsoever it were to us, to stand with the *Romanist* in full authority.
8. *Thirdly*, This being in perfect concord with the decree of *Gratian*, is in the afore said body of their *Canon law* approved, and set out by *Pope Gregory XIII.* annex to that decree of *Gratian*, *Distinct: 99. c. 1.*
9. And *fourthly*, whereas this *Gentleman* saith, that as soon as occasion serves I will tell you this *Epistle* of *Anacletus* is of no authority, I must say 1. that I have no where, that I remember, ever said so: 2. That this *Gentleman* cannot without *divining* tell me now, what I shall doe hereafter. 3. That occasion not yet requiring it of me, but *Anacletus* affirming what I affirm, I have no temptation to doe so, and so as yet he can have no pretence to make use of this subterfuge. 4. That there are things called *argumenta ad homines*, arguments that may binde him who acknowledges the authority, from which they are drawn, though they conclude not him that allows not those authorities, and such is this of *Anacletus* his *Epistle*, to a *Romanist*.
10. And by the same *Logick* that he can inferre that *Anacletus's* authority was unduely produced by me, who (as he but thinks) will not stand to *Anacletus's* authority, I may sure conclude that *Anacletus's* authority was duly produced by me, because against him, who, I have reason to presume, must stand to *Anacletus's* authority.
11. A third testimony of the same nature I shall now adde, which must again have force with a *Romanist*, that of *Anicetus ad Episcopos Gallie*, which follows there in the * *Corpus Juris* * *Decret: Canonici. Primarum civitatum Episcopos Apostoli & Successores* Grat: par: l. res *Apostolorum* regulariter *Patriarchas & Primates* esse constituerunt. *The Apostles and their successors regularly appointed that the Bishops of the Prime Cities should be Primates and Patriarchs.* And till somewhat be produced to the contrary, as 'tis sure here is nothing offered by this *Gentleman*, this may at the present suffice in this place.

Sect. IV.

The supreme Ecclesiasticall power of Patriarchs. The power of convoking Councils, a prerogative of Supremacy. That the Bishop of Rome is not over Patriarchs. Proofs from the Councils, and Canons Apostolick, and the Corpus Juris, and Pope Gregory's arguing.

Num. 1.

THe last exception concerns the *supreme Power of Patriarchs*, or the no *superiority* of any *Ecclesiasticall power* over them, Thus.

2. *Then he saith there was no power over the Patriarchs, his proof is because the Emperour used his secular authority in gathering of Councils, concluding, that because the Pope did not gather general Councils, therefore he had no authority over the Universal Church, which how unconsquent that is, I leave to your judgment.*

3. *That there was no supreme power in the Bishop of Rome, nor in any other above that of Primates and Patriarchs, but onely that of the Emperour in the whole Christian world, as of every sovereign Prince in his dominions, I thought sufficiently proved by this, that the power of convoking Councils did not belong to the Bishop of Rome, but to the Prince in every nation, and the Emperour in the whole world. And I deemed this a sufficient proof, not because there are no other branches of a supreme authority imaginable, or which are claimed by the Bishop of Rome save onely this; but 1. because this of convoking Councils is certainly one such prerogative of the supreme power, inseparable from it, and he that hath not that, hath not the supreme power (as in any nation some prerogatives there are, which alwaies are annex to the Imperial Majesty, and wherever any one of them truly is, there is the supreme power, and 'tis treason for any but the supreme, to assume any one of them, and one of that number is calling of national Assemblies) And secondly, because the Bishop of Rome doth as avowedly challenge this power of convoking General Councils, as any other I could have named or insisted on. And truly that was the onely reason why I specified in this,*

this, because this of all others is most *eminent* in it self, most *characteristical* of the *supreme power*, and most *challenged* by the *Bishop of Rome*, and most due to him, in case he be the *Universal Pastor*.

4. And then where there be *several branches* of a *power*, all *resident* in the same *subject inseparably*, from the *absence* of one to collect the *absence* of all, I must still think, a *solid way* of *probation*, and cannot discern the *infirm part*, or *inconsequence* of it. If I could, it would be no difficult matter to *repair* it, and supply the *imperfectnesse* of the *proof*, by what is put together in the *Corpus Juris Canonici* (even now cited) *Decret: par: 1. dist: 99. c. 3, 4, 5.*
5. The thing that I had to prove, was, that there was not antiently any *summum genus*, any *supreme* either of, or over *Patriarchs*, beside the *Prince or Emperour*. To this, as farre as concerns the *negative part*, that the *Bishop of Rome* is not this *summum genus*, I now cite from that third Chap. *Præ sedis Episcopus non appelletur Princeps sacerdotum, vel summus sacerdos*, The *Bishop of the first seat* ought not to be called *Prince of the Priests*, or *supreme Priest*. And this testified out of the *African Council*, *Cau: 6.* where the very words are recited with this addition of [*aut aliquid hujusmodi*] he is not to be called by any other title of the same kinde, *sed tantum præ sedis Episcopus*, but onely *Bishop of the first See*, and there were three such at that time, (those named in the *Nicene Canon*) *Alexandria, Rome, Antioch*, as is sufficiently known.
6. And that he may see the *practice* of the *Church* was perfectly concordant with that *definition*, I referre this *Gentleman* to the *Milevitan Council*, *cap. 22.* where speaking of *appeals* from their *Bishops*, the rule is, *non provocent nisi ad Africanæ concilia, vel ad Prælatos Provinciarum suarum*, They must appeal to none but the *African Councils*, or the *Primates of their own Provinces*. *Ad transmarina autem qui putaverint appellandum, à nullo intra Africam in communionem recipiantur.* But if any shall think fit to appeal to any *transmarine* (foreign) *judicature*, they are not to be admitted to *communion* by any within *Africa*.
7. And indeed the same had been before defined by the first

Nicene Council, c. 5. where the sentence pronounced against any by the *Bishops* in each *Province* was to stand good according to the *Canon* (I suppose the 12 *Apostolick*) which pronounces τὰς ὑφ' ἑτέρων ἀποβληθείσας, ὑφ' ἑτέρων μὴ περσίδας, that they which are excommunicated by some, shall not be received by others. And accordingly in the *Synodical Epistle* of the *African Council* to *Pope Celestine*, which is in the *Book of Canons of the Roman Church*, and in the *Greek collection of the Canons of the African Church*, we finde these words, ἡμετέρῳ, ἵνα τὰ λοιπὰ πρὸς τὰς ὑμετέρας ἀκοῶς, τὰς ἐπιδείν παρ' ἐγγινομένων ἐυχερῶς μὴ περδέχῃτε, μηδὲ τὰς παρ' ἡμῶν ἀποκοινωνήεις εἰς κοινωνίαν τὰ λοιπὰ δελήσῃτε δέξασθαι, ἐπειδὴ τὸτο καὶ τὰ ἐν Νικαίᾳ Σύνοδος δειδέν ἐυχερῶς εὖρη ἢ σὺν σεβασμιότητι, We intreat you (the style of one Church to another) that for the future you will not easily admit those who have come to you from hence, and that you will not receive to your communion those who are excommunicate by us, seeing the Council of Nice hath thus defined, as you may easily discern.

8. By all which put together by the *African* out of the *Nicene*, and by the *Nicene* out of the *Apostolick Canon*, it is evident that the *Bishop of Rome* hath not power to absolve any person excommunicate by any *Bishop* of another *Province*, and that 'tis unlawfull for any such to make appeal to him, which certainly will conclude against every the most inferior branch of his pretended authority over the *Universal Church*.

9. If this be not enough, then adde the 34 *Apostolick Canon*, τὰς ἐπισκόπους ἐκάστου ἔθνους εἰδέναι χρὴ καὶ ἐν αὐτοῖς πρῶτον καὶ ἡγεῖσθαι αὐτὸν ὡς κεφαλὴν. The *Bishops* of every nation must know him that is the first among them, i.e. their *Primate*, and account him as their head. Which sure inferres that the *Bishop of Rome* is not the one onely head of all *Bishops*. The same is afterward transcribed by the 9 *Canon of Antioch*.

10. But to return to their *Corpus Juris*, so again *Décret. par. 1. dist. 99. c. 4. Nec etiam Romanus Pontifex universalis est appellandus.* The *Pope of Rome* is not to be called *Universal Bishop*, citing the *Epistle of Pope Pelagius II.* Nullus Patriarcharum Universalitatis vocabulo unquam utatur, quia si unus Patriarcha universalis dicatur, Patriarcharum nomen ceteris derogatur.

derogatur. No Patriarch must ever use the title of Universal, for if one be called universal Patriarch, the name of Patriarch is taken from all the rest, And more to the same purpose; the very thing that I was here to prove.

11. So again Ch. 5. out of the *Epistle* of Pope Gregory to Eulogius Patriarch of Alexandria, where refusing the title of Universalis Papa, Universal Pope, or Father, or Patriarch, and calling it *superba appellationis verbum*, a proud title, he adds, *si enim Universalem me Papam vestra Sanctitas dicit, negat se hoc esse, quod me fatetur Universum.* If the Patriarch of Alexandria call the Pope universal Father, he doth thereby deny himself to be that which he affirms the Pope to be universally; The meaning is clear, If the Pope be universal Patriarch, then is he Patriarch of Egypt, for sure that is a part of the Universe; and then as there cannot be two supremes, so the Bishop of Alexandria cannot be Patriarch of Egypt, which yet from S. Mark's time was generally resolved to belong to him, and the words of the Nicene Canon are expresse to it, that according to the ἀρχαία ἔστιν original, Primitive customs, the Bishop of Alexandria should have power over all Egypt, Lybia, and Pentapolis, adding ἐπειδὴ καὶ τὸ ἐν τῇ Ρωμῇ ἐπισκοπῶν ὡς τοὺν συνδός ἐστιν, &c. seeing this is also customary with the Bishop of Rome, of Antioch, &c. τὰ προεβία σώζονται ἐκκλησιαίαι, that the privileges should be preserved to the Churches.

12. All which arguing of that Pope, yea, and that great Council were perfectly unconcluding (inconsequent, as mine was said to be) if the Bishop of Rome, or any other, had power over Patriarchs, or authority over the universal Church, which here this Gentleman is pleased to affirm, and so sure must think Gregory more than fallible, when he thus protested, and disputed the contrary.

13. How much higher than this the same Gregory ascended in expressing his detestation of that title, is sufficiently known from his *Epistle* to Mauritius the Emperor, In regist: l. 4. Ep: 30. I shall not here trouble him with the recitation of it.

14. What is after these passages set down in their body of the Law, shews indeed that the Popes continued not alwaies of

this minde, Neither was I of opinion that they did, the story being known to all how *Boniface III.* with much adoe obtained of *Phocas* the *Emperour* an *Edict* for the *Primacy* and *Universal jurisdiction* of the *Church of Rome* (see *Paul: Diac: de Gestis Romanorum*, l. 18.) which yet is an argument that till then it had no foundation.

15. Whether there were antiently any such, higher than *Patriarchs*, and whether now there ought to be, was the question before me, and both those I must think concluded by what I have here set down, as farre as relates to any true, i.e. original right, from any appointment of *Christ*, or title of succession to *S. Peter*.

16. Much more might be easily added to this head, if it were not evident that this is much more than was necessary to be replied to a bare suggestion, without any specifying what that power is, which may belong to the *Pope* over the *Universal Church*, though convoking of *Councils* did not belong to him, and without any offer of proof, that any such did really belong to him.



CHAP. IV.

An Answer to the Exceptions made to the fourth Chapter.

SECT. I.

The Romanists pretensions founded in S. Peters universal Pastorship. Of Possession without debating of Right. What Power the Pope was possesst of here.

Num. I. **I**N the fourth Chap: his objections begin to grow to some height, they are reducible to three heads, the first is by way of Preface, a charge of a very considerable default in the whole discourse that I remember not what matters I handle; the other two are refutations of the two evidences I use to disprove the Popes claim of universal Primacie from Christ's donation to S. Peter:

2. The first of the three is set down in these words:
In the fourth Chapter he pretendeth to examine whether by Christ his donation S. Peter had a Primacie over the Church, where not to reflect upon his curious division, I cannot omit that he remembers not what matters he handles, when he thinketh the Catholick ought to prove that his Church or Pope hath an universal Primacie; for it being granted that in England, the Pope was in quiet possession of such a Primacie, the proof that it was just belongeth not to us, more than to any King, who received his Kingdome from his Ancestors, time out of minde, to prove his pretension to the Crown just: for quiet possession of it self is a proof, untill the contrary be convinced, as who should rebell against such a King were a Rebel, untill he shewed sufficient cause for quitting obedience; with this difference, that obedience to a King may by prescription or bargain be made unnecessary, but if Christ hath commanded obedience to his Church, no length of years, nor change of humane affairs can ever quit us from this duty of obedience, so that the charge of proving the Pope to have

no such authority from Christ, lieth upon the Protestants now as freshly, as the first day of the breach, and will doe so untill the very last.

3. My method in the beginning of Chap: 4. is visibly this; The Church of England being by the Romanist charged of schism in departing from the obedience of the Bishop of Rome, and this upon pretense that he, as successor of S. Peter hath a supremacy over all the Churches in the world, I undertake to examine the truth of two branches of this suggestion, one whether Saint Peter had this universal Supremacy given him by Christ; the second, whether this power, if supposed to be instated on Saint Peter, devolved on the Bishops of Rome. The former of these I examined in that Chapter. And I must now discern, if I can, how I have failed in any particle of my undertaking.
4. First, saith he, he will not reflect on my curious division. And I that know there was no curiosity in any division of mine, but on the other side, such perspicuity as was agreeable to a desire and indeavour to set down the whole matter of debate between us as distinctly and intelligibly as I could, that the Reader might be sure to judge whether I answered their charge, or no, I have no reason in the least to suspect the fitnessse and usefulnessse of my division, nor consequently to be impertinently solicitous in reflecting on it.
5. That which he saith he cannot omit, I shall make haste to consider with him, viz: my great mistake, in thinking the Catholick ought to prove his Church or Pope hath an universal Primacie.
6. To this I answer, 1. that there is no manner of foundation or pretense for this exception here. For I no where say the least word toward this purpose of requiring the Romanist to prove his pretensions, or to prove them by this medium, One-ly I take it for granted, that he doth actually produce arguments to inferre the Pope's universal Primacie, and that Christ's donation to S. Peter is one of those arguments. And that I was not herein mistaken, I shall, instead of a larger deduction of evidences from all sorts of Romish writers, make my appeal to the objecter himself, in several places of this little tract,

tract, particularly p.20. where he hath these words, *we relie on the first, as the foundation, and corner-stone of the whole building*. And what that first is, appears by the words immediately precedent, that the pretensions for the Pope's supremacy in England *must be founded as successor to S. Peter in the universal Pastorship of the Church*, so including England as a member thereof. From whence in stead of *recriminating and retorting* on him the charge of the *ill memory*, I shall onely make this undeniable *inference*, that I was not mistaken in thinking that the Romanist doth actually found his pretensions in the *universal Pastorship of Saint Peter*, and consequently, If I prove that to fail, I have removed that which in his own style is the *foundation and corner stone of his whole building*.

7. But then 2. because he here pretends that it belongs not to a Romanist to prove his pretension just, but that it sufficeth that he hath the possession, I desire to propose these three things to his consideration, 1. By demanding whether at *this time*, or for these 100 years the Pope hath had the possession of the obedience of this nation; I suppose he will say he hath not; And if so, then by the force of his own argument, that possession, and all the arguments deducible from thence, are now lost to him, the prescription being now on our side, as before on theirs, and there is nothing left him to plead, but the original right on his side, against the violence of the succeeding possession: And if he come to the pleading of the right, then that is the very method that I proposed, and so did not offend or forget my self in so doing.

8. Secondly, Concerning their possession before Henry VIII. his daies, I shall demand how long they had it, and how they acquired it; If he will not at all think fit to answer this question in either part, then I confesse he hath made an end of the dispute, and by refusing to give account of the right he had to his possession, he will leave every man to catch and hold what he can, and then to imitate him, and give no account to any how he came by it, which as it is an *unchristian* method, every man being obliged to clear his actions from manifest charges of *injustice and violence*, so again 'tis an *evil lesson* against

against himself, and unlesse we will confesse our selves *Schismatics* in casting off their obedience, 'tis impossible for him ever to prove us such, this kinde of *schism*, which now we speak of, being by all acknowledged to be a *separation* from our *lawfull superiors*, and no way being imaginable to prove the *Pope* to be such to this *nation*, without offering some proof to the point of *right*, as well as adhering to his *possession*.

9. To which purpose it is farther observable, 1. That even in *secular* things it is not every *possession* that gives a *right*, but 1. either the *bonæ fidei possessio*, a *possession* honestly come by, or the *unjustnesse* of whose *original* is not contested or made to appear. And 2. whatsoever *privilege* by *humane laws* belongs to *prescription*, yet in *divine* or *Ecclesiasticall* matters *prescription* can be of no force against *truth* of *right*, and so this *Gentleman* seems to acknowledge here, extending the force of *possession* no farther than till *sufficient cause* be shewed to the contrary. 3. That though whilst I am in *possession* I need not be bound to prove my *right*, yet when I am out of *possession*, there is not, beside *absolute force*, any way possible to recover a *possession*, but this of *contesting* and evidencing the *right* of it, and that, 'tis evident, is the *present case*.

10. But if he shall think fit to answer the *question* in either part of it, then by the answer to the *first* part of it, he must be forced to set down the *original* of it; and by answer to the *second*, the *right* of that *original* (and so he hath been fain to doe, as elsewhere, so in this very *paragraph*, where he speaks of *Christ's* commanding *obedience* to his *Church*, I suppose he must mean the *Church* of *Rome*) and that is again the very *method* in which I proposed to debate, and consider this *matter*.

11. Thirdly, For the *power*, of which the *Pope* was possesse in this *Kingdome*, either it was no more than an *Ecclesiastical Primacie*, such as by the *antient Canons* belongs to a *Primate* or *Patriarch* over *Metropolitans* and *Bishops*, or else it was a *supreme power* over the *King* himself, whether in *Spiritual*, or also in *Temporal* affairs.

12. If it pretend onely to be the *former* of these, then the *power* of *Kings* to erect or translate *Primacies* or *Patriarchates*, which

which is insisted on and evidenced in the *Tract of Schisme*, c. 6. §. 9. was sufficient then to justify what here was done, no possession being pleadable against the King, to restrain or exclude this exercise of his power, and so now to free us from schisme, (by this Gentleman's rule) this act of the Kings in translating the Primacie being sufficient cause for quitting our obedience, supposing the Bishop of Rome formerly to have been our Pimate.

13. But if the pretensions be higher, even for the *Supremacie* it self, either in whole, or in part, then 1. I may surely say they were never *bona fidei possessores* of that, And 2. that the King, who by being so, is *supreme* in his own Kingdome, and cannot admit of another *supreme* either in or out of it, hath all the advantages of possession, which are here spoken of by this Gentleman, and must not be divested of his right, nay must not, cannot (remaining a King) divest himself of it, nor might any without the guilt of rebellion quit his obedience to him.
14. Lastly, to remove all appearance of reason from this whole exception, 1. It is manifest that at the time of casting out the power of the Pope out of this Kingdome, there were (I must have leave to suppose, convincing) reasons given for the doing of it, A breviate of which the Reader may finde in that one *Treatise* (mentioned in the *Tract of Schism*, p. 135.) *De verâ differentiâ Regiæ & Ecclesiasticæ potestatis*, then composed and published by the Bishops, and since reprinted by Melchior Goldastus in *Monarchia*, tom: 3. p. 22. under the title of *opus eximium*, a very notable excellent work, 2. That how meanly so ever it hath been performed, yet this was one special design of the *Tract of Schism* (which this Gentleman saith will alwaies lie upon Protestants) to prove the Pope to have no such authority from Christ, as the Romanist pretendeth him to have. And this I hope may suffice to be said to his *εὐαμαχία*, his prelusory skirmish against this fourth Chapter.

Sect. II.

The condition of S. Peter's Province. The Apostles distribution of their great Province, the World, into several portions. Κληρὸς. Κληρὸς Ἀποστολῆς. Ὁ τόπος ὁ ἰδίος, Act. 1. the interpretation thereof vindicated.

Num. 1.

I Proceed now to his refutations of the first evidence I make use of to disprove the Pope's claim to universal Primacie from Christ's donation to S. Peter.

2.

My evidence is taken from the condition of S. Peter's Province, as by agreement betwixt him and his fellow Apostle S. Paul, it was assigned him, Gal. 2. 7, 9. that he should be the Apostle of the circumcision or *Jewes* (which certainly was not the whole world) exclusively to the Gentile part, or the *uncircumcision*, which was remitted to S. Paul both there and Rom.

* Of Schism,
p. 74.

11. 13. and this, as is * there specified, in every city where they met together. And because the universal extensive commission of Christ to all and every Apostle, giving them authority to go and preach to the whole world, might seem to be contrary to this special assignation, I took care to prevent this objection, by premising that this commission given by Christ indefinitely, and unlimitedly, and extending equally to the whole world, was restrained by some subsequent act or acts of the Apostles themselves, who distributed their universal Province into several portions and assignations, called κληρὸς Ἀποστολῆς, portions of Apostolacy, and the several Provinces where they were thus to labour, styled each of them ὁ τόπος ὁ ἰδίος, to each an assigned peculiar place, Act. 1. 25.

3.

Now to this groundwork of my insuing probation, he makes his first exception in these words :

Sect. 5.

As for his Proofs, which he calls Evidences, he telleth us first that S. Peter was the Apostle of the circumcision exclusively to the uncircumcision or Gentiles ; To prove this, he saith the Apostles distributed their universal Province into several κληρὸς Ἀποστολῆς, that is, by his interpretation, lesser Provinces, and citeth Act. 1. v. 25. where S. Peter with the other Apostles prayeth God to shew which of the two proposed he was pleased to have promoted

moted to the dignity of being an Apostle, this they call *ἀποστολὴν*, and this rigorous interpreter saith, it signifies the special Province S. Matthias was to have, though the Scripture it self expresseth the contrary, saying the effect was that afterward he was counted amongst the Apostles: Could any man not blinded with error make so wretched an interpretation? but he goes on presently adding that S. Peter in the same place calleth these particular Provinces *τὸ πρὸν ἰδίον*, and will you know what this *τὸ πρὸν ἰδίον* or proper place is, read the Text, and you shall finde that S. Peter speaketh of Judas's going to Hell to receive his eternall damnation: Methinks you should wonder I can go on without astonishment at such blasphemous explications, for sure it can be no lesse so to abuse the Word of God, and after this what doe you expect?

4. Here are two great charges, the first introduced by styling me a rigorous interpreter, and prosecuted, by affirming me blinded with error, my interpretation wretched and contrary to what the Scripture expresseth. But the second is of no lesse than blasphemy, and abusing the Word of God, and his friend is to wonder that he is not astonished, and after I have been guilty of such crimes as these, 'tis in vain forsooth to expect any thing from me, the whole insuing discourse is utterly defamed and blasted, like * Philopemen's good counsel in the Senate of Lacedamon, by being delivered by so ill a man, so infamous a person, as a blasphemer is justly deemed by him. * A. Gellius, l. 18. c. 3.
5. But I am not to be disquieted with this, or to prepare any reply to the Rhetorical passionate part of it, if the interpretations shall be found agreeable to Scripture, the astonishment and the outcrie will be soon at an end, And therefore that is the onely care that I shall here assume on me.
6. And 1. I shall suppose it evident from the story, and from the very end to which this commissionating so great a number of twelve Apostles was designed, that all the Apostles were not to go together, in consort, to preach unto all the world, It would have been long ere the Faith would have been propagated to all the world, if this slower method had been taken.
7. To this it is consequent, that our Saviour having left the world in common before them, the distribution of that one

wider into severall lesser *Provinces* must be an act of the *Apostles* themselves, as when God had given the land of *Canaan* to the 12 tribes of *Israel*, *Eleazar*, and *Josua*, and the heads of the *Fathers* of the tribes distribute to every tribe their κληρῶς or portion (which because it was to continue to their posterity, we ordinarily style their inheritance) *Jos.* 14. 1.

8. And as there is no doubt of the truth of this fact, so if this one thing be granted me, there is no more incumbent on me to prove in this matter; and though neither of those phrases, *Act.* 1. 25. should be for my turn, yet my conclusion remains good to me, as farre as it pretendeth to be deducible from those phrases, viz: that the *Apostles* distributed their great Province, the whole world, into severall lesser Provinces, one; or possibly more than one to go one way, the other another.

9. It was therefore *ex abundanti*, more than was necessary, that I annexed the use of those phrases to that purpose, not undertaking to prove this (as this Gentleman saith) by those texts, much lesse *Peter's* being *Apostle* of the circumcision (which was a consecratory and had its several probation afterwards) but onely accommodating those phrases to the matter in hand, and by the way assigning what I thought the most probable notion of them.

10. And although it be still as unnecessary to impose my explanations on this Gentleman, the conclusion having as yet no use of them, yet being obliged to give him such an account of my actions, as may free me from blasphemy, and abuse of the Word of God, I shall here adventure to make my apologic, by premising 1. not out of *Grammarians* onely, but out of the Scripture it self, the notion of the word κληρῶς, which signifying originally a lot or way of division (into severals) of that, which belongs to all in common (one means of settling propriety among men) it comes next by an easie figure to signifie that which is thus divided, or which in the division falls to every man as his portion.

11. So saith *Phavorinus* κληρῶται διαίρεται, and κληρώσει, μετέσθαι, the verb signifies distribution both active and passive: and accordingly in the son of *Syrach* we have διαίρεσις κληρῶν divisions.

division of, or, by lot, *Ecclus.* 14 15. and by that we may understand a lesse obvious expression, c. 37.8. *beware of a counsellor, &c.* μή ποτε βάλη ἐπὶ σοὶ κληρὸν, lest he cast the lot upon thee, i.e. lest he help another to cheat thee, and then go sharer with him, divide thee betwixt them.

12. So in like manner saith *Phavorinus* of the substantive κληρὸς, μέρος, λαχμός and μέρει, it signifies a part, that which falls to one's lot, a portion, As *Act.* 8.21. μέρει and κληρὸς portion and lot are all one. And he that hath a possession thus settled on him, and dominion by that means, or he that undertakes to dresse or till so much land, δεσπότης and γεωργός, the Lord and the husbandman, are both the interpretation of κληρῶχος, he that hath such a lot or portion assigned him.
13. Proportionably those that any Governour of the Church is set over, are called his κληρὸς or lot, and 1 *Pet.* 5.3. such Governours are commanded μὴ κατακυριεύειν ὡς κλήρων, not to behave themselves as the Roman Pretors were wont to doe over their several Provinces, oppressing and tyrannizing over them.
14. To this it is agreeable, that κληρὸς διακονίας, *Act.* 1. 17. should denote such a portion of ministerial office, as belonged to one that was sent or commissioned by Christ πρὸς ἔργον to a task or work, exprest v. 20. by ἐπισκοπὴ αὐτῆς his Episcopal office (for that though it be a rule, yet is also διακονία a ministerie, *Mat.* 23. 11.) in the Church.
15. Hence again that portion of employment in preaching the Faith, testifying the resurrection of Christ, which belonged to one single Apostle, such as Judas was, and ἐξ ἧς παρέβη from which he departed by his sin, and to which another succeeds by way of surrogation, is as fitly styled κληρὸς Ἀποστολῆς a portion of Apostolacy, a μέρος or division of that grand employment.
16. And what either one single error or act of blindness was committed in thus interpreting, much more occæcation or being blinded with error, which I suppose the compound accumulation (whether onely sin or punishment also) of many errors, what rigor or wretchednesse of interpretation, I am still so blinde as not to discern, and this Gentleman is not so cha-

ritable, as to give me his least *directions* to recover to my way, or my eyes again.

17. For as to the *Scriptures* expressing the *contrary*, in saying he was counted among the *Apostles*, that sure is no evidence against my *interpretation*, for *Matthias* may become one of the *twelve*, succeed to *Judas's* office and lot, that which did, or should, if he had lived, have belonged to him, and yet neither he, if he had lived, nor now *Matthias* in his stead, have more than a *particular Province*, this or that *region*, (not the whole world in common) assigned for his *apartment*.
18. So that as yet I cannot discern that I have done the least injury to the *text* in thinking κληρὸν ἀποστολῆς the lot or division of *Apostolacy*, to be the *several* task that belonged to any of the *twelve Apostles*, or that *portion of labour*, that by consent at their parting one from another should be assigned to each of them.
19. And then the *analogie* will still hold perfectly, that as this *distribution* of tasks consisted in going to *severall quarters* for the *preaching* of the *faith of Christ*, one, one way; another, another; so he that had received his κληρὸς ἀποστολῆς *portion of Apostolacy*, should be said to have ἰδίον ἢ τόπον a *peculiar* or *proper place*, and having so, should (not immediately, but soon after the *Holy Ghost's* descent) προεβλῶμαι εἰς αὐτόν, go, or, *betake himself to it*.
20. This therefore, and upon these grounds of *fitnesse*, both in respect of the words, and the *context*, I take to be the meaning of that phrase προεβλῶμαι εἰς ἢ τόπον ἢ ἰδίον, *to go to his proper place*, his *peculiar* assignation, And I cannot imagine the least inconvenience that can lie against this rendring.
21. For 1. in case it should not be the *true*, yet it can be any thing as soon as *blasphemy*, thus to interpret it. 'Tis certainly nothing to the *dishonour* of God, to say that *Matthias* went and preacht the *Gospel* in such a *region* peculiarly, and so there is no *blasphemie* in that, viz: the matter of the *interpretation*; and for the *abusing* of the *Word of God*, it is hard to divine how that can be deemed such, which affixeth nothing to the *Word of God*, but that which is *notoriously* true (for so it is that *Matthias* went one way to *preach* the *Gospel*, and

S. John

S. John and S. Bartholomew each of them another) and would be acknowledged to doe so, if this text were not applied to it.

22. As for the other interpretation of the words (which this Gentleman is pleased to preferre, and might have injoyed his own judgment, without censuring them as blasphemers, that differed from him in expounding one difficult phrase) by affixing it to Judas, and not to Matthias, 1. there is no indication in the context that favours that, it was sufficient to say of Judas that which had been said v. 16, 17, 18, 19. to set out the horror of his fact, which soon attended it in his own breast, and the bloody death which it brought upon him, but he needed not proceed to revealing of secrets, the sadder consequents, which remained in arrear after death, and 'tis Chrysostome's observation on v. 16. behold, saith he, τὸ φιλόσοφον τὸ ἀνδρὸς, the wise Christian carriage of S. Peter, πῶς ἐκ ὑβρίζει, ἐδὲ ἐν᾿ ἀλλήλαι, how he doth not reproach, and insult on him, calling him μισαρὸν ἢ παμμισαρὸν, villain, or detestable villain, ἀλλ' ἀπλῶς τὸ γινώσκον ἀληθῶς, but sets down the fact simply, and on v. 16. αὐτὴ τῆς παρούσης δίκης διαλέγεται, he sets down, saith he, his present vengeance, that sure is it which befell him in this world, which, by the way, cannot well consist with the interpreting it of hell.
23. 2. The use of Parentheses in scripture is very ordinary, and if that be here admitted (which it well may, without any more formal expression of it, than by putting a comma after Ἰουδᾶς, as it is already in the printed copies) then the interpretation is clear and unavoidable, to receive the lot or portion of his Ministerie and Apostleship (from which Judas by transgression fell) to go, or, that he may go to his proper place.
24. 3. Hell being the κοινὸς τόπος the common place or lot of all wicked men, it cannot fitly be exprest with such a double emphasis, ἡ τόπον ἡ ἰδίον, the place, the proper place, i. e. the place peculiar to him, which yet may very fitly be affirmed of Matthias his Province, so his, as it was not any mans else.
25. Lastly, It is not near so proper to say that he sinned πορευθῶναι to go to hell, as that the other was chosen and surrogated into Judas's place πορευθῶναι to go to preach to such a quarter of

of the world, or that the Apostles desired God to signifie his pleasure whom he had chosen, that so he might take his portion of labour and go; His going was visibly the end intended in all this, but damnation or punishment, going to hell, was never intended by Judas in his transgression, though it be supposed the deserved reward and consequent of it.

26. All this amassed together, may, I hope, vindicate an innocent, and, I hope, obvious (farre from wrested) interpretation from such an accumulation of charge, as is laid upon it, without any tender of reason against it, but the *ἑκκαίδεκα*, O wretched (blasphemous &c.) in Lucian. And so much in answer to that Paragraph.

Sect. III.

S. Peter the Apostle of the Circumcision; The agreement betwixt the Apostles. Peter's preaching to Cornelius.

Num. 1. **H**is second exception is to the position it self of Peter's being the Apostle of the Jewes exclusively to the Gentiles, and it is in these words:

2. His position is as directly against Scripture, as if he had done it on purpose, the Scripture telling us how by a special vision S. Peter was commanded to preach to Cornelius a Gentile first of all the Apostles, and himself in the Councel of Jerusalem protesting the same; and yet this Doctor can teach he was made Apostle to the Jewes, exclusively to the Gentiles, though all story say the contrary.

3. The position, which is here said to be so directly against the Scripture, was to my understanding the expresse affirmation of Scripture it self, I am sure from thence it was that I learnt it, and I must fail very much in my expectation, if this Gentleman himself doe not acknowledge the testimony produced, Gal. 2. 7. to be sufficient ground to inferre it. There Peter is said to be *πεπιστευμένῳ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τῆς περιτομῆς*, intrusted with the Gospel of the circumcision, That the circumcision there signifies the Jewes, and the *εὐαγγέλιον*, which we render Gospel, the office of preaching or revealing the faith to them, *εὐαγγέλιον*

ἀποστολὴς the *Apostolacy* of the *circumcision*, ver. 8. if it be not of it self plain enough, 'tis made so by ver. 9. where it is added that *Peter &c.* were by agreement to go εἰς ἀποστολὴν *to the circumcision*, where *circumcision*, being the object or term of his motion, must needs be the *Jewes*, not *circumcision* it self, and so Saint *Chrysostome* at large expounds it, ἢ τὸ πρῶγμα ἀλλὰ τὰς Ἰουδαίους, not to signifie the *thing*, *circumcision*, but the *persons*; the *Jewes*, in opposition to τὰ ἔθνη the *Gentiles*, in the former words, and then going to them must needs be *preaching* to them, going to them as to a *Province*, the care of which was intrusted to him; and the *right hands of fellowship*, the agreement that was made betwixt them, *James* the *Bishop* of *Jerusalem*, and *Peter*, and the *beloved disciple* on one side, and *Paul* and *Barnabas* on the other side, is sure the interpretation of the πεπίστευμαι the *being intrusted* or having that, as a *Province*, committed to them.

4. And this is the special importance, saith *S. Chrysostome*, of the ἀλλὰ πρὸς αὐτὸν, *but contrariwise* (the beginning of ver. 7.) as that is opposed to the προσθήσειν to their adding to him v. 6. *James*, saith he, and *Peter* and *John*, were so farre from opposing any thing that he had done, from advising any thing more, from telling him any *circumstance* more than before he knew, that they not onely approved, but *commended* what he had done, and to set the things the more unquestionably for the future, made this agreement with him and *Barnabas*, that whensoever they should come to the same city, mixt of *Jewes* and *Gentiles*, *Peter* and *John* should betake themselves to the *Jewish*, and *Paul* and *Barnabas* to the *Gentile* part of it. For, as was said, it was not by any particular assignation of *Christ's*, but by agreement among themselves that this assignation of *Provinces* was made.
5. And therefore as in point of propriety, when that which is supposed to lie by nature in common to all, is, to avoid contentions and confusions, and the state of perpetual hostility, so distributed by agreement among the fellow-communers, as that one portion shall be assigned as the propriety and appurtenance of one, the other of another, then and from thenceforth that

5. And therefore as in point of *propriety*, when that which is supposed to lie by *nature* in *common* to all, is, to avoid *contentions* and *confusions*, and the state of *perpetual hostility*, so distributed by *agreement* among the *fellow-communers*, as that one portion shall be assigned as the *propriety* and *appartements* of one, the other of another; then and from thenceforth that

which is the proportion of one, is so his, that it belongs to no other, and again so his, that he hath no right to any other part (which I should expresse by saying that that part is his *exclusively* to any other part, for sure his standing to any such division cuts him out, and so excludes him from any farther right) so here after this agreement between those Apostles jointly made, concerning the two parts of mankind, Jewes and Gentiles, to which they were to preach, and among whom to preside, the Jewes are become S. Peter's peculiar, or portion, or Province, and that so his, as the Gentiles were not his, they being left to S. Paul (and Barnabas) who is both there affirmed to have them committed to him, and Rom. 11. 13. to be the Apostle of the Gentiles; And that I exprest by that phrase, Peter was the Apostle of the Jewes (so it is said of him expressly Gal. 2.8.) *exclusively to the uncircumcision*] and truly I knew not (nor yet doe) how to expresse it more *significatively*, and more to the rendring of the full importance of those plain texts, and this Gentleman hath not pleased to direct me how to doe it better.

6. And having the Scripture thus clear and irrefragable for my position, if now I should not be able to salve the *Antinomies*, to answer his objections from scripture to it, this were certainly but my *dulness* (another that hath a greater *αἰσχρολογία* might be able to doe it) and therefore ought not to be any prejudice to the truth of the affirmation. But unlesse the difficulties be greater than as yet appear, I shall not much doubt of undertaking the taske, of reconciling all the *εἰρηοπάται* that can be phansied.

7. For what if Peter by special vision was once commanded to preach to Cornelius a Gentile? Sure this is very competible with my position, For not to mention that this is acknowledged to have been a peculiar commission by special vision determined to that particular person and his family, which, till he had this vision, he thought it utterly *unlawfull* to preach to, Act. 10. 28. (And it is certain that one special case were no prejudice to the general position) and again that Cornelius though a Gentile, was yet a Proselyte of the Jews, such as they called a Proselyte of the gates, though not of justice, a *ᾠσι-*

or devout man, though not *circumcised*; To omit these, I say, the answer is obvious, 1. That this agreement, of which I speak, was at the time of *Paul's* going up to *Jerusalem*, *Act. 15.* i.e. some years after this of *Peter's* preaching to *Cornelius*, as may appear *Gal. 2. 1.* which defines it to be about 14 years after *S. Paul's* conversion, whereas that of *Peter's* preaching to *Cornelius*, *Act. 10.* placed in the next chapter to that which described the conversion of *Paul*, must needs be some considerable space before this time of his going up to the Council at *Jerusalem*. And so that of *Peter's* preaching to *Cornelius*, and his protesting the same in the Council of *Ierusalem*, hath nothing of opposition to this agreement (made for the future, not for the time past) what should be done in their after-preaching, I suppose I need adde no more to that which is thus evident.

8. Secondly, I have already sufficiently * exprest, how farre this * Tract of agreement extended, and how farre exclusive it was, not that *Schism, c. 4.* it should be unlawful for *Peter* to preach to a *Gentile*, or for *S. 7.* *Paul* to preach to a *Jew*, but that when they met in the same city (as at *Antioch* certainly they did, and at *Rome* also I make no question) then the one should constantly apply himself to the *Jews*, receive disciples, form them into a Church, leave them to be governed by a *Bishop* of his assignation, and the other should doe in like manner to the *Gentiles*.
9. And that this was so in the consequences of the story, is largely shewed in that Tract. What could have been said more punctually to prevent this exception taken from *Peter's* preaching to *Cornelius*, I cannot yet discern. I wish this Gentleman had pleased to take notice of it; As it is, I hope he will now be more sure to doe so.

c. 4. §. 8. &c.

Sect. IV.

Paul's first preaching to the Jewes in every city. To what the agreement between him and Peter belonged.

Num. I.

A Nother argument he adds much to the same purpose, which will make his third Exception.

2. Again, if he were made the Apostle of the Jewes, exclusively to the Gentiles, by the same reason S. Paul was made Apostle of the Gentiles exclusively to the Jewes, for the words are like; and yet the scripture teacheth us that whereever he came, he preached first to the Jewes: Is not this to make scripture ridiculous?
3. Here is great severity again, a charge of making scripture ridiculous; But I hope I have been farre from any guilt of it. That S. Paul, whensoever he came to a city, where the faith had not been preached, and where there was any synagogue of the Jewes, went into that synagogue in time of their publick assembling, I never made any question, were this before, or were it after the story of *Act. 15.* when I suppose this agreement to be made betwixt him and S. Peter, &c.
4. Great reason, and no small obligation there was for that; For 1. Christ had commanded that the preaching should begin at Jerusalem, the Metropolis of the Jewes, and as to the Jewes first (*ὁ πρῶτος κηρύξας*) God had raised up his Son Jesus, *Act. 3. 26.* so the Gospel of the resurrection was to be revealed (*ἡ ἀνάστασις κηρύσσεται*) to the Jew first, *Rom. 1. 16.*
5. And although in Paul's commission from Christ it were peculiarly exprest that he should preach the Gospel to the Gentiles, *Act. 9. 15. & 22. 21.* yet according to this great fundamental oeconomic he counted it necessary, first to make tender of his service, and of the glad tidings of the Gospel, to the Jewes, and so he tells them *Act. 13. 46.* It was necessary that the word of God should first have been spoken to you, and till the Jewes refuse it and reject it, he doth not betake himself so peculiarly to the Gentiles.
6. Again, this was in some measure necessary to his publishing the Faith, For that was most advantageously to be done in the publick Assemblies, that it might be known to all that were

were in the city: And the *synagogues* of the *Jewes* being such, were in all reason by him, that was a *Jew*, to be preferred before the *Idolatrous Temples* of the *heathens*: And according to these *obligations*, and inducements, so generally he did; But then as this no way *prejudiceth* his title of *Apostle* of the *Gentiles*, to which he was at the first assigned by *Christ*, so neither is it any way *contrary* to, or *unreconcilable* with the *agreement* which I suppose to be made between him and *Peter* and *John*, which concerned onely those *cities* and *regions*, where they met, and came to plant *Churches*; There, and there onely it is, that I affirm this *distribution* of *Provinces* to have been made, and consequently the *affirmation* is no farther in any *justice* to be extended, than thus, that when they so met, *Paul* betook himself to the *Gentile* part, compacted the *Gentile proselytes* or *believers* into a *Church*, put them into the hands of a *Bishop* of his own assignation, *Ignatius* at *Antioch*, *Timothy* at *Ephesus*, whereas *Euodius* was in the former, *Bishop* of the *Jewish* part, and in the latter, and in all *Asia*, *John* was the *Apostle* of the *circumcision*, and constituted *Bishops* there. And this I suppose, without farther enlarging, may satisfy the importunity of his *second Argument*.

SECT. V.

Of the Gentiles being S. Paul's Province peculiarly.

- Num. 1. **H**IS fourth exception is to my producing the words of scripture, Gal. 2. 7, 9. to the proof of my position, Thus,
2. But he goes on telling us, that the *Gentiles* exclusively to the *circumcision* were the lot of *S. Paul* by *S. Peter's* own confession, his words are, for the *uncircumcision* or *Gentiles* they were not *S. Peter's* Province, but peculiarly *S. Paul's* &c. but look on the place and you shall finde no word of exclusion as [*peculiarly*] is, and whereon lieth the whole question, so that the *Dottors* evidence is his own word against the main torrent of scripture on the other side.
 3. How truly it is suggested, that the torrent of the scripture is against me, hath already been made manifest in the fore-

going *sections*, where the *contrary* appearances, by this *Gentleman* produced, as they are farre enough from a *main torrent*, or from the *common* force of such, (or but even of an *ordinary stream*) carrying the whole *businessse* before them, so they are severally examined, and allowed, as farre as they have any force in them, and found perfectly reconcileable with our pretensions.

4. And so likewise it hath already been cleared in what sense this *Apostle* of the *Gentiles*, so styled by himself, and so, by agreement betwixt the *Apostles*, acknowledged by *S. Peter*, was so, peculiarly or exclusively to the *Jewes*.

5. As for his argument drawn onely from hence, that in the text to the *Galatians* there is no word of *exclusion*, that sure is of little force; If there were any agreement, and division, and several assignation of *Provinces*, it must follow that what was said to be one mans *Province*, is his, so as it is not the others, and so peculiarly, and so as farre as that agreement holds, exclusively his, As in the estate first held in common, and then after by agreement divided, it hath appeared so evidently, that I need adde no more to that matter.

Sect. VI.

Of S. Peter's withdrawing from the Gentile-communion. Of the Gentile diet. The prudence of S. Peter's action.

Num. 1. **H**is first Exception concerns an incidental passage about *S. Peter*, and is an *actio injuriarum*.

2. Again (saith he) see how he wrongs *S. Peter* and his *Jewish* Profelytes, where he saies he withdrew from all communion with the *Gentile Christians*. Whereas the text expresseth no more, than that he withdrew from eating with them, that is keeping the *Gentile diet*.

3. What wrong I have done *S. Peter* and his *Gentile Profelytes*, I am yet to learn, nor am I sure that I know wherein this *Gentleman* placeth the supposed injury, But I think it most probable to consist in this, that I say he withdrew from all communion with the *Gentile Christians*, whereas he conceives that

that he withdrew onely from keeping the *Gentile diet*.

4. But 1. let me demand of this *Gentleman*, what he means by *Gentile diet*? I suppose using those sorts of meats, which were by the *Jewish law* forbidden; And if that be acknowledged of *S. Peter*, that he would not thus eat with the *Gentiles*, lest he should seem to offend against the *Jewish law*, then by the same reason he must certainly be supposed to abstain from other communion with them, because it was equally against the *Jewish law*, that a *Jew* should converse with a *Gentile*, as the woman of *Samaria* tells *Christ*, when he spake to her, but to draw him some water. *Ioh. 4. 9.* How, said she, dost thou being a *Jew* ask me to drink (and it was but water, none of the interdicted *Gentile diet*) being a woman of *Samaria*? and either she or the *Evangelist* renders the reason, in as comprehensive termes as mine were, *ὅτι γὰρ οὐ συνηγόροις Ἰουδαῖοι Σαμαριτῶται*, for the *Jewes* have no dealings with the *Samaritanes*, and accordingly v. 27. the disciples marvelled that he talked with the woman. And therefore certainly *Peter* did abstain from all those other waies of converse and communion with the *Gentiles*, which the *Jewes* thought as unlawfull, as eating of the *Gentile diet*, or else he failed of the end of his action, which is evident what it was, a fear of scandalizing his countrymen, and from thence a shew of compliance with them, lest he should be thought by those that came from *Ierusalem* to forsake the *Judaical law*.

5. That the very preaching to a *Gentile* (which was the loosest degree of communion) was, according to the *Jewish principles* as unlawfull as eating any unclean meat, using the *Gentile diet*, is plain by *Peter's* provision, *Act. 10. 12.* where the one is represented by the other, and had he not received that vision, which made it lawful to him to eat all kinde of meats, he acknowledgeth that he durst not have adventured to come to one of another nation, v. 28. affirming in as plain words as could be, that it was an unlawful thing for a man that was a *Jew* to keep company or come to one of another nation, *κολληᾶν ἢ πρὸς ἑσχατὸν*, which certainly includes all communion, and not onely that of the *Gentile diet*. Thus unhappy is this *Gentleman* continually in his objections.

6. It were here obvious, and easie to shew the opinion of the *Antients* of the *prudence* and no kinde of *uncharitableness* of S. *Peters* action, which would farther evidence how farre I am from *wronging* S. *Peter* or his *Profelytes*, in affirming what I affirm of them. But the present objection doth not make that necessary, I referre the *Reader* for it to the (*Ἐγμνήσια*) interpretation, or *Comments* of * S. *Chrysostome*, who sets it down exactly † not as a *quarrel*, but as an *οἰκονομία*, an act of *prudent managery*, a *wise ordering*, designed by him and S. *Paul*, as most likely to reduce the *Jewes* from their *errors*, when he that did thus much to comply with them (not for fear of *persecution* from them, but for fear of averting them from *Christianity*) and was herein *seemingly* opposed by S. *Paul* (the καλεγνῶσιν & ὡς v. 11. being not to be rendred, he was to be blamed, in *Paul's* opinion, but he was blamed by the *Gentile Christians*) made no manner of *reply* in defense of that compliance with the *Jewes*, and so yeilded that S. *Paul* was in the right, and not the *Judaizers*. This interpretation of *Chrysostome* is followed by the *Greek Commentators*, and taken up by *Ierome*, but disliked by *Augustine* in his *Epistles* to *Ierome*, and therefore I lay not weight upon it, nor have my *pretensions* any need of it.

* Savil: ed:

t. 3. p. 730,

731.

† ἡ μάχης τὰ
ρήματα ἀλλ'
οἰκονομίας.

SECT. VII.

The two plantations of *Gentile* and *Jewish Christians* at *Antioch*. *Euodius* and *Ignatius*. The differences of the *Antients* about them reconciled. The two *Bishops* at *Rome*. *Jewes* in *England*. *Simon Zelotes*. *Gentium Ecclesia* the Church of *Jewes* as well as *Gentiles*.

Num. 1. **H**AVING gained so little by the several steps of his exceptions, and the position remaining still firm against all, I have lesse reason to suspect what is built upon this foundation in the ensuing sections: Yet against them altogether he casts one stone, before he will part, in these words,

2. Upon this wisely laid ground, he would persuade us, followed the division of the *Bishopricks* both in *Antioch* and *Rome*, but bringing

bringing not one word of Antiquity proving this to have been the cause, yet is he so certain of it, that he will finde a colonie of Jewes even in England, for fear S. Peter should have touched a Gentile, and yet he cites S. Prosper, that both S. Peter and S. Paul founded the Church of Gentiles in Rome.

3. What force there is in any part of this suggestion, I shall not here need to set down at large. There be three branches of it, 1. That I bring not a word of antiquity to prove (what I say) that this is the cause of the divisions of the Bishopricks both in Antioch and Rome. 2. That I will finde a Colonie of Jewes in England. 3. That I cite Prosper, that both S. Peter and S. Paul founded the Church of Gentiles in Rome.

4. For the first, I desire the Reader to review what is already said in the Tract of Schism c. 4. from §. 8. to §. 20. and I shall much wonder if he return of this Gentleman's minde, that there is not one word there brought out of Antiquity to confirm what I say. The short is, It is there manifested from Antiquity, that the Church of Antioch was founded by S. Peter and S. Paul, that there were two Churches there, one of Jewish, the other of Gentile Christians, that in those Churches at the same time sate two distinct Bishops, Euodius and Ignatius; by which means some appearing difficulties in antient writers are explained.

5. To what is there said, I shall, instead of repeating, adde thus much more. Of Euodius, Suidas's words will be easily turned to, in Χείριστοι, Ἐπὶ Κλαυδίου βασιλέως Παυλῶν, Πέτρῳ τῷ Ἀποστόλῃ χειροτονήσαντι Ἐυόδιον ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ &c. In the reign of Claudius Caesar, Peter the Apostle ordained Euodius Bishop at Antioch. Of Ignatius the * Author of the Constitutions is expressed, Ἰγνατίῳ ὁ ἀπὸ Παύλου, Ignatius was ordained Bishop there by S. Paul. Now seeing in those Acts of Ignatius which are put together by Simeon Metaphrastes, Ignatius is said to succeed Euodius, as Euodius succeeded Peter (Πέτρῳ μὲν ὁ Εὐόδιος διαδέχεται, Εὐόδιον δὲ Ἰγνατίῳ) and the Anonymous antient writer of the Acts of Ignatius, which remains unprinted, hath the same, Εὐόδιον γὰρ Ἰγνατίῳ διαδέχασθαι + in Ἀλέξανδρῳ Ignatius succeeded Euodius, and seeing this ordination of Ignatius is also said by † Theodoret, and by * Felix III. Bishop of Zenon:

* in Chron:
(MS. Oxon.)
h. 10.

of Rome to have been done by the hand of Saint Peter, This seeming difference is removed by * *Ioannes Malela Antiochenus*, who thus sets down the whole matter, ἐν τῷ ἀνίεναι αὐτὸν (Πιλερὸν) ἐν τῇ Παμῳ, διερχομένη αὐτὸς δι' Ἀντιοχείας τῆς Μεγάλης, σωβέβη τελευτῆσαι Εὐόδιον ἑπίσκοπον, καὶ Πατριάρχῳ Ἀντιοχείας, καὶ ἔλαβε τὸ ῥῆμα τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς Ἰγνατίου, ὃς ἅγιος Πέτρος τῷ Ἀποστόλῳ χειροτονήσας αὐτὸν καὶ ἐδεσπόισας, When Peter went to Rome, passing by Antioch the great, Euodius Bishop and Patriarch of Antioch happened to die, and Ignatius (who was, as was said, first constituted by S. Paul over the Gentiles there) received the Bishoprick (that I suppose must now be, of the Jewish Province also, over which Euodius had been in his life time) S. Peter ordaining and enthroning him, And so that is become most clear which * S. Chrysostome said of this Ignatius, that αἱ τοῦ μακαρίου Ἀποστόλων χεῖρες &c. the hands of the blessed Apostles, (in the plural, first of Paul, then of Peter) had been laid on Ignatius.

* Encom:
Ignat:

6. The other part which concerned Rome, * was so cleared by Sect. 9. the words of Epiphanius, who saith of Peter and Paul both, that they were ἐν Ῥώμῃ Ἀπόστολοι καὶ Ἐπίσκοποι, Apostles and Bishops at Rome, and so many other evidences produced to the same purpose, from the inscription on their tombs, by Gaius contemporary to Pope Zephyrinus, by Dionysius Bishop of Corinth, by Prosper, by the seals of the Popes, and so again Sect. 12. by the Ecclesiastick story, that makes Clemens S. Peter's Deacon and successor in the Bishoprick, and Linus S. Paul's, that sure there can be no need of farther proofs or testimonies from Antiquity in this matter.

7. Whilst in the mean, other Churches are * instanced in, particularly the Churches of Asia, wherein S. Paul and S. John Sect. 14. had all the command, and S. Peter had nothing to doe, whether in planting or governing them, which alone is sufficient to carry the whole matter against S. Peter's universal Pastorship, and no word is by this Gentleman replied to that so considerable a part of my probation, Onely instead of it, a farre more compendious way, that of the scornfull or fastidious scoffing at my wisely-laid ground, as he pleaseth to call it, and adding that I bring not one word of Antiquity &c.

8. As to the second branch of his suggestion, that I will finde a colonie of Iewes in England, that is no where said by me, Onely thus, that upon supposition, if the saying of Simeon Metaphrastes (speaking of S. Peter's preaching and ordaining Bishops in England, Neronis 12) should be thought to have truth in it, it must be extended no farther than the Iewes, which might at that time be dispersed there.
9. Where, as my conclusion from that supposition is founded in the analogie, that as, where S. Paul and S. Peter met in any plantation, they divided their Province &c. so in reason it ought to be, where S. Peter and Simon Zelotes, or Ioseph of Arimathea met in like manner, so all that of the Iewes in England I there affirm, is onely this, that it was possible they that were dispersed in so many regions, might be, some of them, dispersed in Britannie, which how improbable soever it may appear at that time, is sure as probable, as that S. Peter preached and ordained Bishops in Britannie, and in consequence to that onely it was, that I made the supposition of the possibility of it, knowing it the affirmation of our Antiquaries, that Ioseph of Arimathea, or Simon Zelotes ('tis possible also that Simeon Metaphrastes might mistake Simon Peter for him, and then that matter is at an end) planted the faith in this Island.
10. As for his last suggestion, that I cite Saint Prosper, that both S. Peter and S. Paul founded the Church of Gentiles in Rome, I desire the truth of it may be considered by the words which I cite from him, *In ipsa Hierusalem Iacobus & Ioannes apud Ephesum, Andreas & ceteri per totam Asiam, Petrus & Paulus Apostoli in urbe Roma Gentium Ecclesiam pacatam unamque postoris tradentes ex dominica passione sacrarunt*, James at Jerusalem, John at Ephesus, Andrew and the rest through all Asia, Peter and Paul at Rome, consecrated the Church of the Nations. What Nations were these, sure of Iewes, as well as Gentiles, else Jerusalem could not be any part of them, no nor John's converts at Ephesus, for they were Iewes, and therefore this Gentleman did not doe well to substitute the word Gentiles for Nations, and yet could not, without doing so, have made this exception to my words.

- II. And so much for exceptions to my first evidence against the Universal Pastorship of Saint Peter.

Sect. VIII.

No promise of Keyes to S. Peter, which was not made and performed to all the Apostles, Joh. 20. 21. the completion of the promise, Mat. 16. 19. Pasce oves. Joh. 21. an exhortation, not commission.

- Num. 1. **T**He second sort of Exceptions follows, those against my evidence drawn from the power of the Keyes, which I say, and prove both from Scripture, and expresse testimonies of the Fathers, that it was given equally to all the Apostles; And his exceptions begin thus:
2. A second evidence he bringeth from the donation of the Keyes, which he saith were given equally to the Apostles, Mat. 28. yet confesseth the Keyes were especially promised to S. Peter, Mat. 16. but performed onely in common, Mat. 28. which though they may be both true, yet is absurdly said, for who acknowledgeth a special promise, should have found out a special performance, which is done, Joh. 21.
3. This exception being not to the matter of what I say, but to the absurdnesse of the expression (to which censure I must suppose every thing liable, which is contrary to his pretensions, and yet proved so manifestly that it cannot be denied by him) I shall briefly evidence how commodious, and proper the expression was.
4. And 1. whereas he sets it down as my confession, that the Keyes were especially promised to S. Peter, this is not with truth suggested; My words are, *This power Mat. 16. 19. is promised to S. Peter*] But the [especially] is an interpolation of this Gentleman's, to prepare my words for his exceptions, for which otherwise they were no way qualified.
- Sect. 20. 5. All that can be fetcht from any words of mine toward this sense, is, that in the next Section, I foresaw, and so mentioned an objection from Christ's making this promise to him peculiarly (and yet even that is not, to him especially, but to him particularly,

cularly, or singly, *I will give unto thee &c.*) To this, as to an objection, I presently made reply, that the repetition of that promise *Mat. 18. 18.* to all the *Apostles* indefinitely, and without any peculiarity of restriction (*I say to you, in the plural, and, Whatsoever ye shall binde &c.*) will take away all appearance from this objection.

6. And so it will from this Gentleman's exception also, For if what was at one time promised to S. Peter singly, was so soon after promised to all the *Apostles* indefinitely, what absurdity is there in seeking no other performance of this promise, than that which was at once afforded to all the *Apostles* together, in the descent of the Holy Ghost, when the fire, that represented that Spirit, divided and sat upon every one of them, and they were all filled with the holy Ghost, and no shew of peculiarity, or mark of especiall eminence to S. Peter in all this.

7. As suppose a Generall should promise a Commission this day to one, and to morrow should make the like promise to eleven more, that one being in their company, and then, upon a set day, some weeks after, should send 12 Commissions sealed to those 12, one for each of them, I wonder who would doubt of the exact performance of this promise to that first, or seek for any more special performance of it.

8. But this Gentleman having phansied a special promise (as that is with him somewhat more than a particular promise, for otherwise a common performance might have served the turn, it being certain that an Universal contains every particular under it) must needs have a special performance, and that *Ioh. 21.* I suppose in those words of Christ to S. Peter, *Feed my sheep, and, Feed my lambs*, thrice repeated.

9. But for this, 1. I cannot acknowledge that it hath any particular reference to the words of the promise, *Mat. 16. 19.* The promise was, *I will give thee the Keyes*— and, *Whatsoever thou shalt binde*— And sure the direct completion of this, as farre as could be expected from Christ personally, whilst he was here on earth, is that of *Ioh. 20. 21.* where, as the sending or commissionating is answerable to giving the Keyes, the insigne of the Oeconomus, so remitting and retaining of sins is all one with the binding and loosing.

10. As for that which is after this Chap. 21. It is 1. by that very position of it; but 2. more by the occasion; and yet more 3. by the matter of the words, prejudged from being any more than an exhortation to discharge that duty, for which in the former Chap: he, with the rest of the twelve, had received his commission, and so is still as farre from being a speciall performance, as that of *Matth. 16.* had been from a special promise.
11. The *Pasce oves, Feed my sheep and lambs*, thrice repeated, was certainly a direction to him how he might approve his love to that Master and Saviour, whom he had thrice renounced, testifie it now to be a sincere constant love (such as would cast out all fear of danger, through which formerly he had fallen) by an eminent diligence in discharge of that Pastoral office, which was intrusted to him, but 'twas not so much as an intimation, that his diligence would be actually greater than all others (for sure S. Paul said truth, that he laboured more abundantly than they all, of whom S. Peter was one) but rather that he, that after such professions had fallen so foully, had the more need now of having this proof of his love inculcated and preft, lest he should fail again (much lesse is it a sealing any power or authority to him, above that which before had been conferred on him, and with him on those others also).
12. And nothing being here offered to prove that there was any more of energie, or special commission in these words, but onely the thing crudely affirmed, by naming *Ioh. 21.* there is no need of making any farther answer, a bare deniall is a proportionable return to an unproved affirmation.
13. Onely this I shall adde, that 'tis certain that S. Peter thus understood the reiteration of Christ's question, as a reproach of his three denials; The Text saith, *Peter was grieved, because he said unto him the third time, Lovest thou me?* Which sure he would not have been, if he had looked on it, as an introduction to so great a preferment, as it must be, if the supremacy and Universal Pastorship of the Church were by those words conferred on him.

Sect. IX.

Of the peculiarity of the power given to S. Peter.

Num. 1. **T**O this head of discourse about the power of the *Keyes* follows a second *Exception* in these words,

2. *Again he would persuade the world that the Catholick Church holdeth, none had the Keyes but S. Peter, calling it a peculiarity and inclosure of S. Peter, as if the other Apostles had them not, which is a calumnie.*

Sect. 2.

3. How far I have been in this matter from calumniating the whole Catholick Church, or any one member of it, will appear by this brief review of what is there said, It is this, The power of the *Keyes* is promised S. Peter, *Mat. 16.* but to him that from hence, i.e. from the promising it to him singly in that place, pretends this donative and consequent power as a peculiarity and inclosure of Peter's, two considerations are there offered, and thought sufficient to supersede any such conclusion.

4. Here certainly a bare supposition will not be the accusing or consequently accusing falsely, i. e. calumniating of any. If no man say this, besides my losing my pains in superseding such a (but possible) conclusion, there is no other harm done. Onely I shall demand, Is that promise of the *Keyes* to Saint Peter, *Mat. 16.* made use of by a Romanist to prove Christ's promise of some special power to S. Peter, which was not promised to the other Apostles? If this Gentleman answer, No; then 1. I must inferre, that this Gentleman is no Romanist, because in this very page he mentions the first words of this text, *Tu es Petrus*, as one of the two most considerable texts of Scripture, fit to be alledged for S. Peter's supremacy. 2. I shall conclude from this his present supposed negation, together with his own words in the last Paragraph, that the words of Christ, *Ioh. 21. Feed my sheep &c.* were not the instating of any power on S. Peter, which was not common also to the rest of the Apostles, for those words *Ioh. 21.* were, saith he, a special performance, answerable to that promise of the *Keyes* to Peter, *Mat. 16.* as a special promise, and consequently if there were nothing

nothing in that *promise* peculiar to S. Peter, there was nothing in that *performance* peculiar to him. And so neither he nor any *Romanist* must henceforth conclude any thing for S. Peter from either of those particular *addresses* of Christ to him, *Mat. 16.* or *Ioh. 21.* which they will not equally yeild from thence to all the other *Apostles*; And then that will more *compendiously* perform what I by a greater *circuit* of considerations indeavour'd to doe, i.e. *supersede* all the *Romanists* conclusions from one or both these places; for certainly if they pretend not to *inferre* somewhat for S. Peter, which is not by them equally granted to all the rest of the *Apostles*, all that those *texts* will be able to doe, is to confute the *Presbyterie*, not to establish the *Papacie*, no more being from hence deducible for the *Bishop* of Rome the *successor* of one *Apostle*, than for the severall other *Bishops*, *successours* of the other *Apostles*.

5. But if upon the sight of these consequences, he shall now say, that in this of *Mat. 16. 19.* there is any thing, be it never so little (so as to be capable of the phrase a *special promise*) ensur'd upon S. Peter, which was not elsewhere promised also to the other *Apostles*, I shall then conclude, that it seems I have not *calumniated* him, or the Church which he defends, in saying that they make this power a peculiarity and *inclosure* of Saint Peter, for so it must be, if it belong to him and not to others.
6. And 'tis not sufficient to say that the power of the *Keyes* was common to him with the other *Apostles*, but yet some other *special power* was there reserved to S. Peter, For of that *specialty*, whatsoever it is, my present *Dilemma* proceeds, and desires to be informed, whether any *Romanist* conclude it from that text of *Mat. 16.* and if he doe not, then the *inconveniences* will presse him, which I have here mentioned. If he doe then I shall now conclude anew (not that the *Catholick Church*, but) that this *Catholick Gentleman* holds that which he will not be able to prove, because there is not the least *minute* portion of power promised to him in that 16 Chap: which is not elsewhere promised to all the *Apostles*; Peter is called a *stone*, on which the Church shall be built, and to

Peter

Peter the *Keyes* are promised; and the *twelve Apostles* are in like manner, and all equally *twelve foundation-stones* of the same *building*, and the *Keyes* are equally promised to all them. And this being there proved at large §.21. and the *probations* extended, not onely to the power of the *Keyes*, but (after) to the *compellation* of *Tues Petrus* (and they will be *extensible* to all the most *diminutive* imaginary *fractions* of either of those powers) I shall farther conclude, that whatsoever he shall now return to this *Dilemma*, will equally secure me from having *calumniated* either him, or the *Church* maintained by him.

Sect. X.

Sitting on twelve Thrones, Mat. 19.

Num. 1. **H**Is third *Exception* to this *Chap.* is to another *interpretation* of mine, which it seems hath not the luck to approve it self to him, Thus,

2. I cannot passe without noting another odde interpretation of *Scripture*, in his 20 Sect. out of *Mat. 19.* speaking of the *twelve Thrones* at the day of *Judgment*, he explicates, to rule or preside in the *Church*.

3. I doe acknowledge to understand the *twelve Thrones, Mat. 19.* of the *Apostles* ruling and presiding in the *Church*, and *S. Augustine* long before so understood it, and if *Christ's* sitting on the throne of his glory may be the interpretation of *καταγερσεία*, whether it be rendred in the *regeneration*, or in the *resurrection*, meaning thereby *Christ's* resurrection and ascension to the throne of his glory, there will then be no difficulty so to understand it, that when *Christ* was gone to heaven, these should succeed him in the government of his *Church* on earth, and so (as the *Phylarche* ruled and judged the severall tribes of *Israel*) exercise judicature, binde and loose, excommunicate and absolve in the *Church*, no one having the *πρωτοκεία*, any more than of order, among them.

4. But this *Gentleman* gives no reason for preferring any other interpretation, onely calls mine an odde one, And when I

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have

have replied *first*, that this place comes in *ex abundanti*, onely as it is (being thus interpreted) in concord with that other of *Mat. 16. & 18.* and therefore *secondly*, it is not an odde one, and *thirdly*, the cause in hand will stand as firm, though this interpretation should be found to have no truth in it : *fourthly*, that my interpretation is reconcileable with his, and therefore his, if granted, will not be *exclusive* of mine, they that shall judge the world hereafter may for some time have presided in the Church, and so also judged here ; *fifthly*, that this

* *Annot. on place*, and the grounds of this interpretation are * elsewhere *Mat. 19. d.* insisted on at large, I shall need adde no more to this single and Power of dislike of his, in this place.

Keyes, c. 5.

§. 13.

Se^ct. XI.

The equivalence of Πετρά and Πετρός. Twelve foundation-stones.

Num. 1. HE concludes with some shew of dislike of what I had said to the vulgar place of *Tues Petrus*, Thus,

2. *His quibbling about the word is so light a thing, as it is not worth consideration, the sense being plain, that upon Peter the Church was built specially, though not with exclusion of others.*

3. What I said of the equivalence and perfect identity of the words, Πετρός and Πετρά for a stone, seemed to me particularly usefull to the understanding of the meaning of *Christ's* speech, when he said, he would build his Church on this *πέτρε*, or *πέτρε*, i. e. this stone. For not to mention what hath by divers of the *Antients* been said of that text, applying it not to the person of *S. Peter*, but to the faith, whereof he then had newly made confession, I was here willing to grant the *Romanist* the utmost that he could pretend to, viz: that the person of *Peter* was that *Petra* or stone, on which *Christ* promised to build his Church : And why this Gentleman should be so unwilling to be gratified, or why the setting down the bare notation of the Greek word, should deserve his reproach, and be called quibbling or levity, I professe I can render no reason but

but his *haste*, which permitted him not to consider either the *undeniable* truth, or his own *advantages* from what was said.

4. The force of my answer lay in *another* branch of that *fourth* *Section*, viz: that this *stone*, from whence *Peter* had his name, peculiarly relating to a *building*, and so being to be considered as a *foundation stone*, not onely he, but *all* the rest of the *Apostles* were herein made *equall* with *Peter*, being all partakers of this *common* appellation, *δεμέλιοι δώδεκα* *twelve* *foundations*, *Apoc. 21. 14.* and those by circumstances in that *text* manifested to have an *equal* proportion of *power* and *Province* assigned to *each* of them. And to this there is nothing here answered by this *Gentleman*, and his unprovoked quarrel at that, which was said concerning the *nature* of the word, is an *indication* that he had nothing more to object to it.

5. When therefore he saith, that on *Peter* the *Church* was built: especially, I demand what he means by *especially*? If no more than that he was one *special* person, on whom the *Church* was built, then I grant it, and reply, that so was *John*, and so was *Andrew*, and so was every other of the *twelve*, a *special* *foundation-stone* of the *Church*. But if by [*especially*] he mean in an *extraordinary*, or more *eminent* manner, than any of the other *Apostles*, Then I answer, 1. that *Christ's* telling him he was a *stone*, on which he would build his *Church*, implies no such matter, the other *Apostles* each of them are by *Christ*, in vision to *S. John*, affirmed to be *foundations* of this *building*, as well as he; 2. That among *foundation-stones* there is but one, that hath any *eminence* above others, and that is the *ἀκρογωνιαίον*, the *chief* or *head-corner-stone*, and that title belongs not to *S. Peter* (as neither to any other *Apostle*) but onely to *Christ* himself, *Ephes. 2. 20.* And so still nothing belongs to *Peter* in this matter of being a *stone* or *foundation*, which doth not *equally* appear to belong to those others, as well as him. And so much for the *vindicating* of the *Evidences* set down in the *fourth* *Chapter*.



CHAP. V.

An Answer to the Exceptions made to the first Chapter.

Sect. I.

Of slight passing over Pasce oves, and Tu es Petrus.

- Num. 1.* **T**He first thing he here *excepts* against, is my too slight passing over two, which he thinks the most considerable texts, to support the *supremacie* of S. Peter, In these words,
2. *In the first Chapter he lightly passeth over the two most considerable Texts of Scripture fit to be alledged for S. Peter's supremacy, viz: Feed my sheep, and, Thou art Peter: because they have no appearance, and have been often answered: Why no appearance? because he and his fellows say so, and as if being so often repeated was not as likely to shew the answer was naught, as the answering to impeach the objecter: but who understands the principles of Catholick Faith, knows, that as well for other points of our Faith, as for this of S. Peter's supremacy we rely not onely upon such places of Scripture.*
 3. *For this of the light passing over those two places of Scripture, I think I can give a very reasonable account, 1. From his own words p. 10. where he tells me that I am mistaken in thinking that the Catholick ought to prove that the Pope hath an universal Primacy, For if he be not obliged to prove it, if the right pretended depend wholly upon possession, why should not I make haste, through those proofs, which some have ex abundanti (as to him it seems) made use of.*
 4. *Secondly, I did in the simplicity of my heart verily believe (what here is recited from me) that those two texts had so very little appearance of strength in them, and this so often manifested by the variety of answers made to them by our writers, that no Romanist would in earnest have laid such weight*

weight on them, as to require of me a more punctual answer to them, than I had before given in the former Chapter. There I had evidenced that the whole world was not S. Peter's province, but onely one portion of one part of the world, the Jewish believers in Antioch and Rome &c. the Gentile Christians in those very cities being under S. Paul, and the Jewish of other countreys under other Apostles, those of Asia under John &c.

5. This to my understanding made it evident, that in case Christ's Pasce oves &c. Feed my sheep and my lambs, were granted to be a form of commission, instating of power on him, it must yet be restrained to his particular Province, so as to leave other his fellow Apostles their Provinces also, and not extended to an Universal Pastorship.

6. But then when this farther consideration was behinde, that indeed this of Pasce oves] was not the form of commission to S. Peter, but that in the former Chapter, Joh. 20. 21. as my Father sent me, so send I you &c. and that to S. Peter in common with the rest of the Apostles, and not the least indication of any branch of power appropriated to him (on which I have already insisted in this Reply, though in that Tract of Schisme I did not think it necessary) I hope I may have pardon for not returning to a strict survey of it in that first Chapter.

7. As for that of Tues Petrus, that was the very text wherein the donation of the Keyes was promised to S. Peter, Mat. 16. 18. and that had particularly been examined in both parts of it, both as to the Keyes, and the compellation, in the fourth Chap: and the Keyes promised him, manifested by other texts to belong equally to all the other Apostles, and so the compellation of stone, or (which is all one, as was there shewed) foundation, or foundation-stone in the building of the Church, bestowed equally upon the rest of the twelve Apostles also. And so considering what I had already done my self, and what others had done much more largely, there remained little appearance of force in those texts, which might suggest to me a more diligent survey of them. And all these together, if not two of them alone, were a competent reason of passing lightly over them in that first Chapter, where I was engaged in a new stage, i. e. of not returning afresh, and

- loco non suo*, to a yet larger consideration of them.
8. I should now from this notice of his displeasure endeavour to pacifie him by reforming my former omission, and enter upon a yet more solemn survey of these two texts, but that I see him already resolved not to trust his cause to the support which those texts can afford him, telling me in the close, that he relies not onely on such places of Scripture, and if I should dwell longer upon them, I should be thought impertinent, and again reprehended, as forgetting what matter I handle, And therefore till he please to tell me how farre he relies on them, and shew me that I have not yet removed them from being a foundation so farre to be relied on, I shall spare mine own and the Readers pains, and flatter my self, that I have said much more to invalidate any conclusion, which he shall inferre to his advantage from these two places, than he hath yet said in my hearing, to confirm his pretensions from both or either of them.

Sect. II.

The Bishop of Antioch's title from succession to S. Peter equal to the Bishops of Rome. Peter formed a Church there. His dying at Rome no argument.

- Num. 1. **A**fter his velitation he now proceeds to the weightier impression, excepting first to an argument taken from the Primogeniture of Antioch, Thus,
2. Next he urgeth that if the succession to S. Peter were the base
- Sect. 3. of the Popes supremacy, Antioch should be the chief See, because S. Peter sat there, wherein to omit his first and second question, whereof the first is untrue, I answer to the third negatively, that the constituting a Church and Bishop at Antioch, before at Rome, did conferre no privilege extraordinary on that Church, and the reason is clearly deduced out of his second Quære, because it was before Rome, for he could not give any such authority, but by divesting himself, since there cannot be two heads to one body, and therefore this authority and privilege of S. Peter can rest and be no where but where he died.

3. In this matter I must first premise what I had warned the Reader of in that 5 Chap. §. 2. that what I there produced against the power of the Bishop of Rome, under the notion of successor to S. Peter, was perfectly *ex abundanti*, more than needed, the whole matter being sufficiently concluded in the former Chapter, which concerned S. Peter's person, and had shewed that S. Peter himself had no *Universal Pastorskip* belonging to him, or *supremacy* over any other Apostle, from whence it was evidently consequent, that to his successor, as such, no such power pertained.
4. This being premised, I did not pretend, that what should then follow, should proceed with that evidence as to demonstrate again what was so sufficiently cleared already, Onely to those, whose curiosity was not satisfied, when their reason was, I proposed some considerations, which pretended to no more than this, that beside that Peter had no *supremacy*, there were also other defects in the Bishop of Rome's tenure, particularly this, that he did no more succeed S. Peter, than the Bishop of Antioch did, nay, that S. Peter having left a successor Bishop at Antioch, before he did at Rome, the Bishop of Antioch had in a manner the *Primogeniture*, and by that, as good (if not a better) title to *preeminence*, as any the Bishop of Rome had, upon that tenure of succession from S. Peter.
5. Now to this part of discourse which pretended but to probability, there can lie no exception, unlesse it appear either to be untrue in any part, or in the whole lesse probable than what is offered by the Romanist for the other side; And this is now to be examined.
6. And 1. saith he, the first question is untrue; But he is so reserved as not to expresse his reason for so saying. I shall therefore give my reasons to the contrary, 1. because a question cannot be untrue, all truth and falshood being in affirmations and negations (and asking a question, or proposing a thing to consideration whether it be so or no, is neither of those) in answering, not in asking of questions.
7. Secondly, Because this question being resolved into an affirmation, viz: that Peter as truly planted a Church at Antioch, and left a successor Bishop there, as he is or can be supposed

to have done at Rome, it relies on the *uncontradicted Testification* of *antient* writers.

8. By planting a Church I mean not that he was the first that preach the Gospel at Antioch (though Leo the Great seems to affirm it, (in *Antiochenâ Ecclesiâ primum prædicante beato Apostolo Petro, Christianum nomen exortum est, Ep: 53.*) and from thence pleads the right of precedence to belong to that Church, (in *paternæ constitutionis ordine perseveret*) against *Anatholius* Bishop of Constantinople) for that seems by S. Luke to be attributed to those that were scattered abroad upon the persecution that rose about S. Stephen, *Act. 11. 19.* but his forming them into a Church or regular assembly. And that so he did, and left *Euodius* Bishop there, and after his death *Ignatius* the Martyr, is elsewhere manifested at large, and I shall not repeat it, but onely adde one Testimony (which I suppose will be authentick with him) of Leo the Great, Bishop of Rome, *Ep: 62.* to *Maximus* Bishop of Antioch, bidding him be mindfull of that doctrine, *quam præcipuus Apostolorum omnium, beatissimus Petrus per totum mundum quidem uniformi prædicatione, sed speciali Magisterio in Antiochenâ & Romanâ urbe fundavit.* Where it is the clear affirmation of that Pope, that S. Peter founded the doctrine of Christ first in Antioch, then in Rome by a special authority, or power, or magisterie, which he had in those two cities, more than in the rest of the world. And so I cannot guess what untruth there could be in that affirmation, if it had been such, which was but a consideration, or question, as he calls it.
9. Next, he saith, that S. Peter's constituting a Church and Bishop at Antioch, before he did the like at Rome, is a proof that he conferred no extraordinary privilege on Antioch, and renders the reason for it, because he could not do it without divesting himself, and consequently this privilege must rest no where but where he died, and consequently at Rome onely, because he died there.
10. That he left any extraordinary privilege at Antioch I do not believe, any more than he did so at Rome, and therefore I cannot be required to prove any more than this, that it is as reasonable for me to affirm it of Antioch upon the title

of succession, as for him to assume it of *Rome*, upon the same title.

11. From *Christ* there is nothing that will fix it at *Rome*, rather than at *Antioch*, and in the *Law of Nations* concerning inheritances, nothing is or can be applied to this purpose. It must needs be then from the free act of *S. Peter's* will, whatsoever is pretended to. And in respect of that 'tis sure as reasonable to believe, that he which planted a *Church*, and placed a *Bishop* first in one, after in another city, should delegate the διπλή τιμή double portion, the greater dignity and privileges to the former as to the latter. If the right of *Primogeniture* be no right in this matter, yet sure the younger sister hath neither law, nor custom, that the inheritance should belong to her.
12. And for his own reason here offered, that it cannot belong to the *Elder*, that is no reason; For *S. Peter* might doe, as *Christ* did, make an assignation of power in his life time, fix it by promise, yet not devest himself of it till his death, And if *S. Peter* had done so, if at his planting a *Bishop* at *Antioch*, on consideration that in that city they were first called *Christians*, he had decreed that after his own death that *Bishop* should succeed to all that authority, which he had received from *Christ*, with power to communicate it to any, I shall ask this Gentleman whether he might not have done it without either devesting himself whilst he lived, or making two heads to one body, or whether his bare dying at *Rome*, would have invalidated any such former act of his, in case he had done so. If it would, there must then be more owing to his death than to his life, to his martyrdom than to his preaching or ordaining of *Bishops*, that this privilege belongs to *Rome*. And then again *Jerusalem*, where *Christ* himself died, will by that title of his blood shed there, have a more unquestionable right, than that city where *Peter* did but faintly transcribe that copie, which had in a more eminent manner been set him by *Christ*.
13. Lastly, If by this argument of *Rome's* being the place where *Peter* died, the supremacy had belonged to that See, precisely or peculiarly, how could it be transferred to *Avenion*, as we know it was, and there continued for some time? But I shall no longer insist on such fiction of case, as this, if that had been

which never was, what then would certainly have followed, whether if S. Peter had been *Universal Pastor*, it must *eo ipso* be concluded that his *successour* of Rome, and not at Antioch was such after him, when it hath been rendred evident in the former Chapter, that S. Peter had no such *supremacy*.

SECT. III.

The Act of the Councell of Chalcedon; of the ground of Rome's precedence. The safety of the Church reconcileable with removing the chief See. Of the Bishop of Constantinople being asbamed of that act. No tumult in the Councell. The story of it.

Nnm. 1. **T**He next dislike is to my deriving the *original* of that precedence which belongs to Rome, as the Councel of Chalcedon had derived it, Thus,

2. Then he tells you that the dignity or precedence of the Bishop of Rome is surely much more fitly deduced by the Councel of Chalcedon from this, that Rome was then the Imperial city, or ordinary residence of the Emperour: a very wise judgment, that the quality upon which the unity, that is the safety of the Church *Universal* relies, should be planted upon a bottome fallible and subject to fail, but the resolution was so shameful, that the very Patriarch was asbamed, and imputed it to his ambitious clergie, who how tumultuary and unruly they were, is to be seen in the Acts of the Councel.

3. Here two objections are made to the wisdom of that Act
Sect. 5. or judgment of that Councel, and I that foresaw it would be thus rejected by him, and from thence observed how little Councels are considered by them, when they define not as they would have them, and therefore laid no more weight on that Canon, than the Romanists very rejecting it allowed me, might now spare the pains of defending the judgment of that Councel. Yet it is so easie to return answer in few words to his two objections, that I shall not decline doing it.

4. To the first, that the precedence of Rome, which there I speak of, being a Primacy onely of dignity and order, and not
of

of *Power*, is no such *quality*, on which the *unity* and *safety* of the *Church* relies. For how can that be concerned what *Bishop* sits *uppermost*, gives the *first* or *last* *suffrage* in a *Council*? This *Gentleman* thinks of a *supremacy* of *power*, when he thus speaks, but that he cannot but know is denied by us to be placed in any one *Bishop*, and therefore must not imagine me to assigne the *original* of that, to which I deny a *being*. And it matters not though he say I am *injurious* in denying it, for besides that that is *petitio principii* on his side, to say so, 'tis also certain that the *question* now betwixt us in this *Paragraph*, is not whether I am *just* in denying that *supremacy*, but whether it be more than a *Primacy* of *order*, which I divolve to this *original*.

5. Nay if I had spoken of the *supremacy* it self, and fixed it on a *bottom* so farre *fallible*, as that it might be *removed* by the change of *Empires* from one *city* to another, if it were but resolved that the *supreme Ecclesiastical power*, and so the *fountain* of *unity* should follow the *Imperial seat*, I see not why the *safety* of the *Church* might not by this means be *provided* for.
6. Let it but be judged of in *little* first, as it is easily suppose-able. Suppose the *Church* of *England* *αὐτοκρατορική*, nay for argument's sake, suppose there were no other *Church* but that of *England*, and suppose there were a *supremacy* in one *Bishop*, in him, whosoever were the *Bishop* of that *city*, where the *royal throne* were placed, and suppose that that were for the *present* removed to *Yorke*, and so that the *Bishop* of *Yorke* were the *supreme Bishop*, and by that means the *unity* and *safety* of the *Church* competently *provided* for, I shall then demand, in case the *royall seat* should be removed to *Winchester*, could there be any *question*, but the *supreme Episcopal See* would be *removed* so too? and might not all *appeals* be made from thenceforth to *Winchester*, and the *safety* of the *Church* be as well *provided* for by this way, as by it's being fixt *unmoveably* at *Yorke*?
7. The *Primacy* we know hath oft thus been *removed*, and never more *inconvenience* come of it, than by *S. Peter's See* being removed to *Avenion*. And if any *supremacy* belonged

to any succession of Bishops over the whole world, and that were never mutable, but by the removal of the Imperial seat, a certain, illustriously visible thing, it is not easily discernible, how this should more prejudice the safety of the Church, than the change of that power from one Bishop that dies, to his successor in the same See. But this is still much more than needed to have been said.

8. As for the Patriarch's (I suppose he must mean of Constantinople) being ashamed of that resolution of that Council, and imputing it to his ambitious Clergie, 1. he gives us not any testimony for this, onely faith, that in the Acts of that Council may be seen how tumultuary and unruly they were. And to that affirmation, and that not very pertinent proof of it, I have two things to say, which indeed the Acts of that Council, and the Epistles both of Anatolius Bishop of Constantinople, and Leo Bishop of Rome, may assure us to have truth in them. 1. That if by being ashamed be meant retracting or renouncing this resolution of the Council, It then hath no truth in it, that the Patriarch was ashamed.

9. For 1. it is so evident that of all Leo's reprehensions in this matter of the Primacy adjudged him by that Council, Anatolius chose to take no notice, and to return no answer, that Leo tells the Emperor of it, Ep: 59. *maluit prædictus Antistes meam gratulationem tacere, quam suam ambitum publicare*, and chargeth it upon Anatolius himself, that he made no reply to what he had said to him; *Ad quas cum non rescriberes ipse te à colloquiis nostri consortio separasti*, by not making any return to my admonitory letters, thou hast thy self separated thy self from the communion of our discourse. Ep: 71.

10. 'Tis true indeed when Leo charged it upon him, as an act of ambition and pride, that he had procured that Canon to be made (as he doth at large, * Ep: 53. making it an invasion of the Bishop of Alexandria and Antioch his right settled by the Council of Nice, and so in his * Epistle to Martian the Emperour, and † another to the Empresse Pulcheria) Anatolius writing to him upon occasion, tells him that the Clergie of the Church of Constantinople, and not he, brought this mat-

* Coloni Edit: fol. 118.

* Ep: 54 fol. 119.

† Ep: 55. fol. 120.

* Culpam, quam de augenda po-

testate, alienâ (ut asserit) adhortatione contraxeras, etsi non ad sola Clericorum consilia transulisses. Leo. Ep: 71.

ter

ter before the Council, and therefore Leo needed not be so angry with him, and complain so sharply against his ambition.

11. And this I suppose is it which this Gentleman must referre to, if there be the least colour of truth in his suggestion; But sure this disclaiming of pride or ambition in what was done, regularly, according to a long continued custome, and the Canon of the Council of Constantinople is much more the justifying his innocence, than the acknowledgment of any fault; an act of confidence and assurance, no indication either of guilt or shame, no disowning the dignity confirmed to him by the Council.
12. Many evidences there are in the story of those times that the Bishop of Constantinople did no way reject this power and dignity, which that Council had confirmed to him; Tis annexed to the Acts of that Council, how he exercised it in an eminent manner on the Patriarch of Alexandria, Leo the Emperour having put wholly into his hands the judging of a great affair, and quieting a disturbance in that Church; see the * third part * Edit: Paris: of that Council of Chalcedon. In which matter may be observed that in the Epistle of the Egyptian Bishops, and Clergy &c. Tome 3. p. 504. of Alexandria, in a recitation of the Bishops of the whole world, the first place being reserved to Leo the Bishop of Rome, the second is given * Regia Constantinopolis Anatolio, to Anastolius of Constantinople the Royal seat, and then follow Basil of * Ibid p. 506. B. Antioch, and Juvenalis of Jerusalem.
13. And indeed if it be but remembred, 1. That what was done here at Chalcedon was for the main but the reciting and confirming what was done formerly at the Council of Constantinople (a judgment, saith * Euagrius, that this matter was * Lib. 2. in fine. well-ordered already, ἐδιναιώθη ἡ Κωνσταντινῆς πόλεως θεῖον ἐκθῆναι μὲν ἡ Ρώμης τελευτᾶν, and what the Bishop of Constantinople held by Custome before that Council also, * τὸ ἐν πολλῇ κεκληῖν * Epist: Concil: σεν ἐθῶς, a custome that had been long in force, and * ἐκ τῆς παλαιᾶς Chal: ad Leon: λαβῆσαι συνδείας by a precedaneous custome &c. Secondly, that Pap: Concil: t. 3. p. 475. B. this was done by this Council. (if their professions may be believed) * τοσούτον τὸ θεῖον Κωνσταντίνης πόλεως τὴν παρὰ ἡμῶν, leuiberii Chal: * subscript: Ep: Ibid: ἔσαν ἡ μνησθέντες τὴν ἐκκλησίαν πρὸς ἡμῶν, not so much to add: Ep: Ibid: adde. p. 46. F.

adde any thing to the See of Constantinople, as to provide for the quiet of other Metropoles in Asia, Pontus and Thracia. Thirdly, that the Council attested all this, and sent a relation of it to the Bishop of Rome, *ππιστοδοι κ' τλω υπελεγειν αγω σωλω δισαχθισαν ενοδεχενς τε ταυτα κ' βιβαν*, being persuaded that he being rightly informed would receive and confirm it, though his Legates had obstinately opposed it. Fourthly, That all the objections, which the Pope or his Legates had to it, were proposed and clearly answered in the * Council; that of the contrariety of the Canon to the decree of the Council of Nice, by reading that Decree, and shewing that it was perfectly reconcileable to it; That of invading the rights of the Metropoles of Asia, Pontus and Thracia, by the severall Bishops of those regions being examined by the Emperours proxies, whether they consented to it *οικεια γνομην, η αναγκης τινος ατοις επερεχθεις*, by their own will, or by any necessity imposed on them, and their severall cheerful answers, *ενο γνομης εαγγελια ως ενωτιον δευ*, I subscribed willingly as in the presence of God, and the like; To which if we adde the depreffion of the Bishop of Antioch, which * Leo objects, it is likewise answered by Maximus the Bishop of Antioch his subscription to this Canon. Lastly, that as this was enacted, by * Baronius's own confession, by 600 Bishops, i. e. by the whole Council, not onely by a party of it, So the Bishop of Constantinople Anatolius * subscribed it in the first place, and next after him the Bishop of Antioch, there will be no possibility of finding any truth in this Gentleman's affirmation, that the Patriarch was ashamed of this judgment of the Council.

* Concil: c. 3.
p. 460.

p. 461. D.

* ad Maxim:
Antioch: Ep: 62.
fol. 124.
* Tom: 6. An:
454. N. 13. & c.

* p. 453.

14. It is much more reasonable to affirm on the other side, that the Pope, though not Leo, was ashamed of his opposing it, for within 30 years after, we finde Felix III. of his own accord consenting to his Primacy, and acknowledging Acacius Bishop of Constantinople to have power over the Bishops that were under him, Ep: 1. and Innocent III. confirms it with a solemn constitution cap: *Antiqua: de Privileg:* that I adde not the establishment of it again by the Council of Florence, sess: ult: in lit: *Unionis*.

15. As for the reason which is here offered to confirm the truth of

of his affirmation, it hath it self no truth in it, and so cannot be a reason of the affirmation. It is not true; for there was no tumult nor unruliness in the Council, onely the Pope's Legates opposed the Canon, and made their complaint to the Judges, and were heard most regularly in all they could pretend, and at length the Canon was defined by the chearfull consent of all but them. See the story of it in *Binius*, *αρχι-επαρχου*:

16. After the passing of the Canon, the Legates, *Paschasius* and *Lucentius* make their addresse to the Judges, the *Επισκοπικοι ἀρχιεπισκοποι*, that supplied the Emperours place, who bad them speak what they would have; They say, that yesterday, after the Judges and they were risen, some things were done against the Canons, and desire they may be read. That was appointed to be done; but first *Acetius* Archdeacon of Constantinople makes a relation, how after matters of faith agreed on, they proceeded according to the manner to some constitutions, in these they desired the Legates to joyn with them, they refused saying, they had received commands from Rome to do so, which being remonstrated to the Judges they had bid the Council proceed, and hereupon the Council had unanimously decreed; Appealing to them all, whether it were not true, nothing being done *ἐν παρβύς* or *ἡ κλόπης τέρπῳ*, clancularly or by stealth, but *πρὸς ἑνὶ ἀκούθῳ καὶ κανονικῶς*, of course, regularly and canonically. Then the Canon was read, being a plain recitation of what was before done in the Council of Constantinople, and then all the subscriptions follow. Then the Legates desire it may be inquired, whether none have subscribed by force, suggesting that the Constantinopolitan Canon was contrary to the Nicene; Thereupon the Canons were both read, and upon the Judges appointment, they that were most concerned; the Bishops of Asia, Pontus, and Thracia, who were now brought under the Patriarchate of Constantinople, being supposed formerly to be free, were called out severally and asked whether they had acted under any force, and they severally professe the contrary. Whereupon the Judges summe up the business and conclude, that they had weighed all, and found that none had in any, the priviledges of the Bishop of Rome were preserved
intire

intire according to the *Canons*, and that the *Bishop* of new *Rome*, *Constantinople*, was to have equal priviledges with him, &c And this being their *sense*, they desire the whole *Council* to deliver theirs, and they all cried out, αὐτὴ δικάια ἦν, ταῦτα πάντες λέγομεν, ταῦτα πᾶσιν ἀρέσκει, αὐτὴ δικάια κείσῃ, τὰ τυπωθέντα καλεῖται. *This is a just sentence. This we all say, let this be consigned and confirmed, desiring they may now be dismiss'd every man to his home, and so the Judges pronounce, Πάντα ἡ συνόδος ἐκύρωσε, The Synod hath confirmed all.*

17. No dissent of any but of the *Legates*, and that, it seems, went for nothing when the rest so universally consented; so farre is this suggestion from all shew of truth, that the *Clergy* of *Constantinople* were tumultuary and unruly.

18. If any the least unruliness there were, it was on the *Legate's* part, who would thus stand out and complain without the least reason to doe so, not on the *Councils*, which proceeded according to the precedent custome and *Canon*, and such grounds to which neither the *Pope* nor his *Legate* did then so much as object any thing, viz: the same title by which *Rome* it self ascended to her greatness, * by being the *Imperial city*.

* διὰ τὸ βασιλεύειν τῇ πόλιν ἐκείνῃ.

SECT. IV.

The Popes judging in his own cause. His Legates suffrages in Councils, Of what necessity. Antioch's equality to Rome. Constantinople preferred to no more but a Patriarchy. The dignity of the Bishop of Rome meerly from Rome's being the Imperial city.

Num. I. **I**N this matter of that *Council* of *Chalcedon* two exceptions more he offers (which are not so weighty but they may be put together) in these words,

2. Secondly, he cavilleth at the privilege of *Supreme Magistracy*, calling it a method of security beyond all amulets: then he tells us of *Antioch's* being equal to *Rome*, and that *Constantinople* desired but the same privileges, against the very nature of the story; for *Constantinople* being then a *Patriarchy*, if that

that made it equal to Rome, as this Doctor feigneth, what did it pretend *ἰσα πρεσβεία* for? seeing the Doctor assumes before that all Patriarchs were equall, neither Rome it self, and lesse Antioch had cause to complain.

3. For the former of these, which he calls my cavilling at the privilege of supreme Magistracy, that sure is but *gratis dictum*, and a begging of that, which in the whole controversie he knows to be most denied him.
4. That he, that assumes a supreme Magistracy to himself, should by no means be concluded to be an assumer, till he make his own confession of it, and give his suffrage to his condemnation, I mentioned, and cannot but look upon still, as a method of perfect security, beyond all amulets and defensatives; For how can it be imagined, that he, that contests a right, should at the same time acknowledge it not to belong to him, when he knows that nothing but this confession is sufficient to deprive him of it? As for any such priviledge belonging to supreme Magistracy in generall, or any way applicable to the Bishop of Rome, in relation to a General Councel, it may be worth considering a while.
5. And first for supreme Magistracy in general, This privilege doth not extend to all matters. In a contest of particular right between a supreme Magistrate and a subject, brought before any legal judicature, 'tis certain the supreme Magistrate may be concluded without his own suffrage or consent, and agreeable to that it was, when the question was brought in this Councel before the Judges by the complaint of the Pope's Legates, whether the Canon were the day before, after the Legate's departure, duly passed or no, For if it were not so, what needed this complaint to the Judges, the bare absence, and so not consenting of the Legates had been sufficient to cassate and annull the Acts: Whatsoever Magistracy therefore was then pretended to by the Bishop of Rome, this Privilege doth not then seem to have belonged to it, that his, or his Legate's suffrages should be necessary to the passing every Canon.
6. That they might have liberty to come to the Councell, that nothing were done clancularly or by stealth, at a time when

they knew not of it, that no force were used on those that were present, nor the like to hinder the presence of any, this was necessary to the freedom, and so to the very being of a Council, and consequently to the validity of every act thereof, and accordingly on these heads it was that the Legates in their complaint to the Judges insisted (and so doth * Baronius, styling that last Action of that Council, *spuriam & clandestinam, & ab Anatolio furtim adjectam*, a *spurious clandestine action stolen in by Anatolius*) as also, on the authority of the Nicene Canons, which they pretended to be infringed by that latter of Constantinople, on which this of Chalcedon was founded, and this they thought sufficient to cassate this Act, but for this of the want of the Pope's or his Legate's suffrage, that it should invalidate that decree, it is not so much as pretended by the Legates, in the relations of the passages of that Council.

7. And therefore according to that saying of S. Hierome, put into their Canon Law, *si auctoritas quaritur, orbis major est urbe*, if authority be looked for, the whole world is more than the one city of Rome, it is the resolution of * Almain, *merito Concilium Chalcedonense Leoni resistenti prevaluisse*, that the Council of Chalcedon did well in standing out against Pope Leo, and did justly prevail against him.

8. This amulet it seems had not virtue to stand him in so much stead, as * Baronius is pleased to phansie, setting out the power and greatness of Pope Leo by this, that he did alone cassate what this Council had decreed by the suffrages of 600 Bishops. Which how well it consists with his former affirmation, that this Canon was *spurious and clandestine*, and *stolen in by Anatolius*, I shall not here examine. 'Tis sure, if the Pope's authority were so sovereign, the act needed not have been made *spurious* first, to qualify it for the cassation. But this of the power or superiority of a Pope over an O Ecumenical Council, is a question not so necessary here to be debated, unlessse what this Gentleman was pleased to mention of the privilege of supreme Magistracy, had been indeavour'd some way to be proved by him.

9. Next he quarrels my saying that Antioch was equall to Rome,

Rome, and that Constantinople desired but the same privileges, and this he saith is against the very nature of the story.

10. That Antioch had the *ἰσα πρεσβεία* equal privileges with Rome, so farre as to the dignity of a Patriarchate &c. (allowing to Rome the Primacy of order and dignity) I thought was competently concluded from the Pope's pretensions against that Canon of Chalcedon, making it an invasion of the rights of Antioch, and as derogatory to that as to Rome; And so still it seems to me, For if Antioch had not *ἰσα πρεσβεία* equal privileges with Rome, how could Constantinople's aspiring to equal privileges with Rome, be as derogatory to Antioch as to Rome? But I need not this help from Pope Leo's argument, the thing asserted by me, is not denied, that I know of, by any Romanist, viz: that Antioch had the dignity of a Patriarchate, for that is all that I expresse my self to mean by Antioch's having *ἰσα πρεσβεία* equal privileges with Rome, and I that maintain (as this Gentleman truly saith I doe) that all Patriarchs are equal (in respect of Power, differing onely in order or precedence) cannot be imagined to mean any thing else by it.

11. So again that Constantinople desired no more but the privileges of a Patriarch, and that that is the meaning of the *ἰσα πρεσβεία* equal privileges, is by me said in opposition to acquiring any ordinary jurisdiction over other Churches, and this instead of being contrary to the nature of the story, is directly agreeable to the whole course of it, and to the expresse words of the Canon, which defines, that as the city of Constantinople was honoured with the Empire and Senate, and injoyed equal privileges with old Imperial Rome, so the Church of Constantinople (*ὡς ἐνείκῃ μετὰ τὴν Ῥώμην*) should be exalted to the same height with that, *δεύτερον μὲν ἐκείνῃ ἐκδοχούσα*, having the next place after it, adding that the Metropolitans (and none else) of Asia, Pontus and Thracia, &c. should be ordained by the Bishop of Constantinople, the Bishops of each of those Provinces being left to be ordained by their respective Metropolitans; This is so plain that there can be no need of farther proof of it.

12. And for this Gentleman's objection, by way of Question, that

that *Constantinople* being then a *Patriarchy*, if that made it equal with *Rome*, for what did it pretend *ἰσαπεσβεία*, I answer 1. that *Constantinople* being by *custome*, and by *Act* of the *Council* held in that city, a *Patriarchate* already, it sought not to acquire any new advantage or increase by this *Canon* of *Chalcedon*, but onely to continue what already it had.

13. This again appears by the story, where that *Canon* of *Constantinople* was produced and read, as the foundation on which this new *Canon* was built, and so by the expresse words in the beginning of the *Canon*, Παράχρῃ τοῖς ἁγίοις πατέσιν ὅς ἐστι ἐπὶ τοῖς &c. following constantly the definitions of the Holy Fathers, and knowing the *Canon* newly read of the 150 Bishops assembled in the reign of the Emperour *Theodosius* at the Imperial city *Constantinople* or new *Rome*. And agreeably *Eugrins* sets down the story, that in this *Council* of *Chalcedon* ἐδινάωδν it was thought just or determined that the *Constantinopolitan See* οὐδὲς μὲ τῆς Ρώμης τελευτάου was rightly and duly placed next after *Rome*.

14. And when this Gentleman assumes, that if this were so, the neither *Rome* it self, and lesse *Antioch* had cause to complain, I shall most willingly joyn with him in it, being no way obliged by my pretensions to justify the *Pope* or his Legates dislike to that *Canon*. And for *Antioch* I am sure enough that the Bishop thereof, *Maximus*, though he had received an *Epistle* from the *Pope* to exasperate and perswade him to stand upon his right, did very readily subscribe it, setting his name and consent next after the Bishop of *Constantinople*, as hath formerly been set down out of the story.

15. And if *Antioch* did so, who was the loser by it, if precedence signifie any thing, I confesse I can render no cause (unlesse it be the *Pompejus* *ve parem*, impatience of any equal) why the Bishop of *Rome*, who lost not so much as precedence by this advancement or confirmation of dignity to the Bishop of *Constantinople*, should be so obstinately and implacably offended at it.

16. Thus have I answered every attempt and tittle of exception offered by this Gentleman in this matter, and have now leisure to complain, that the one thing that I desired to be taken notice

notice of from this Canon, is not so much as considered, or at all replied to by him, viz: that the Dignity that old Rome had by antient Canons enjoyed was given it upon this account, *ὡς τὸ βασιλεύειν τῷ πόλει ἐκείνῳ* because Rome was the Imperial seat; which as it is the proof of my whole pretension, that the Pope was not Universal Pastor, upon title of his succession from S. Peter, (for if whatsoever he had, the Councils gave it him, *οἱ πατέρες ἐποφεδόησαν*, saith the Canon, and gave it him as Bishop of the Imperial See, then sure 'twas no inheritance from S. Peter) so it was truly observed out of the story of the Council of Chalcedon, and may be seen both in the Legate's complaint to the Judges, and in the Epistles of Leo to the Emperour Martianus, the Empreſſe Pulcheria, Anatolius Bishop of Constantinople and Maximus of Antioch, and his instructions to his Legates, that he never made any exception to that branch of the Canon that thus derived the original of his greatnesse from the Imperial dignity of the city, never thought himself injured by this way of setting down his title.

Sect. V.

Of the Canon of Ephesus. The power of Metropolitans, of Primates. The case of the Archbishop of Cyprus no peculiar case. The deduction thence against the Popes Universal Pastorship. Of the Popes tenure by the institution of Christ.

Num. 1. **T**HE next exception concerns the Canon of the Council of Ephesus, thus,

2. As for the Canon of Ephesus touching the Archbishop of Cyprus, it plainly sheweth that the Metropolitans were subordinate to the Patriarchs, seeing this case of Cyprus was a peculiar excepted case, the reason given doth shew that the superiority of Patriarchs was by custome received from their Ancestors, contrary to that which the Doctor before affirmed, however it is still nothing to the purpose, because the authority, which we say belongs to the Pope, is neither Patriarchal, nor derived from any institution or custome of the Church, but from the institution of Christ.

Sect. 6.

3. This Canon of Ephesus, saith he, plainly shews that Metropolitans were subordinate to Patriarchs, seeing this of Cyprus was a peculiar excepted case. To this I see not how any pretensions of ours oblige me to make any return, yet because it may be subject to some mistake for want of explicating, I shall clear that whole matter by these three Propositions.
4. First, that the controversie, which occasioned that Canon, was this, Whether the Bishop of Constance, Metropolitan of the Province of Cyprus, was to be ordained by the Patriarch of Antioch, or (without seeking abroad) by his own Synod, the Bishops of Cyprus. Thus is the state of the question set down in the Councils, Tom. 2. p. 670. at the beginning of the 7th Action. *Discussa est controversia inter Rheginum Episcopum Constantia Cypri, & Johannem Antiochenum, qui sibi Cypriæ Ecclesias subdere moliebatur.* The controversie was discussed between Rheginus Bishop of Constance of Cyprus, and John of Antioch, who endeavoured to bring the Cypriotes Churches into subjection to himself.
5. Secondly, that the antient custome had been favourable to Rheginus his pretension, and so the claim of Antioch is defined *περὶ τὰ παρὰ τὴν ἐκκλησιαστικὴν δεσμὴν—καὶ νομομύθεον*, a thing innovated against the Ecclesiastical Lawes, and so *τῇ πάντων ἐλευθερίᾳ ἀπὸ τῆς ἐκκλησίας*, that which, by the example, or president, would concern the liberty of all Churches. Cod: Can: Eccl: Un: gon.
6. Thirdly, that the Council defined on the Cypriots side, that according to the Canons, and antient custome, the Bishops of Cyprus should retain their privilege inviolable, *ὡς ἐαυτῶν τὰς χειροτονίας τῶν ἐν αὐτοῖς ἐπισκόπων ποιῆσαι*, ordaining their Bishops within, and by themselves, and consequently that it was an act of assuming, and invasion in the Bishop of Antioch, to claim *τὰς ἐν Κύπρῳ ποιῆσαι χειροτονίας* to make any Ordinations within Cyprus. And what was thus adjudged in the case of the Cypriots, was by that Council in the same Canon thought fit to be extended in like manner to all other Provinces (*τὸ δὲ αὐτὸ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων διοικήσεων, καὶ τῶν ἀπὸ τῶν ἐπισκοπῶν παρὰ φυλαχθήσεται*, the same shall be observed also through all Dioceses and Provinces every where) *ὡς μὴ δὲνα &c.* that no Bishop shall

shall meddle with another Province, which hath not from the beginning been under him, i. e. under his predecessors power. And so there is no truth in what is here suggested, that this of Cyprus was a peculiar excepted case; It certainly, by the expresse words of the Canon, belonged to all other Metropolitans and their Provinces over all the world, that neither Bishop of Antioch nor of Rome was to meddle with any ordinations except in their own particular Provinces, but the Synod of the Bishops of each Province, *ἡ ἐκκλησία τὰς ἡγουμένων ἐπισκόπων ποιεῖται*, to make the ordinations of their Bishops by themselves.

7. What he adds of the superiority of Patriarchs by custome received from their Ancestors, First, that the reason given in that Ephesine Canon doth shew it; Secondly, that it is contrary to that which the Doctor before affirmed; Thirdly, that it is still nothing to the purpose in hand, of the authority of the Pope; hath not, that I can discern, any truth in any part of it. For as to the first, whatsoever superiority Patriarchs be acknowledged to have, there is no word of mention concerning it in that Canon, neither was there any occasion to define any thing of it; It was the Synod, and Bishops of Cyprus their right, that was invaded, and of that onely that Canon speaks, devolving it to original custome, and Canons, and so for all other Metropolitans. But that is not the superiority of Patriarchs. Secondly, for my affirmation, certainly it was never such as could be deemed contrary either to that Ephesine Canon about ordination of their Metropolitans, or that due superiority, which by Canons or customes doth belong to Primates or Patriarchs; what this is I have often set down, and need not again repeat it.

8. Lastly, for the application of this Canon to the present affair of the Universal Pastorship of the Bishop of Rome, thus much is evident, First, that all Provinces every where, *αἱ ἀπαραχῆ ἐπαρχίαι* were concluded by this Canon, that they should ordain their Bishops within themselves, and then I pray how can the *ἡγουμένη* power of ordaining all belong to the Bishop of Rome, and ordination and jurisdiction going together, how can he have the Universal Jurisdiction, or which is all one the Universal Pastorship?

Secondly,

9. Secondly, if the Pope his authority be not Patriarchal, as this Gentleman here saith, then till he hath proved that it is more than Patriarchal, and answered all that is said to the contrary in that Tract of Schisme, that which is by the Ephesine Canon judged in order to the Patriarch of Antioch, will also conclude him.
10. And thirdly, that which is held by the institution of Christ being certainly derived ἀπ' ἀρχῆς from the Beginning; must needs be included in the words of this Canon, which requires that all should remain, as by custome (immemorial) from the beginning it had been, to which therefore we appeal, and inquire, whether Cyprus was not as Independent from Rome at that time, as from Antioch; if not, how any such dependance at that time appears, or how is it imaginable there should be any such, when all Provinces every where were to be ruled and ordered δι' ἐαυτῶν by their own Synod and Bishops.
11. As for the tenure, by which the Pope is now, in the close of this Paragraph, clearly said to stand, not from any institution or custome of the Church, but from the institution of Christ. First, this is more than ever this Gentleman would acknowledge before, telling us p. 14. that who understands the Principles of the Catholick faith, knows they relie not onely upon such places of Scripture, as, Thou art Peter, and Feed my sheep, From whence I thought my self obliged to conclude they relied not onely on Christ his institution, for that I suppose must be set down in some, and if in any, sure in those Scriptures, And in another place, that I forget my self when I think a Catholick ought to prove that the Pope hath an Universal Primacie (referring all to his Possession) whereas in case he pretend to hold by the institution of Christ (as here he saith) certainly he is obliged to produce that institution, and that is to prove his pretension.
- p. 10. 12. But then secondly, that there is indeed any such thing, that the Pope holds by Institution of Christ, is still the thing denied by us, and the contrary, I think, demonstrated in the former chapter, and all the places producible for it, answered, and so it must not be here begged or assumed, without any word added for the proof of it.

Sect. VI.

The exemption of Justiniana prima, The several exceptions against this instance answered.

Num. I. **H**IS next Paragraph pretends to be answer to the evidence brought from the example of *Justiniana prima*, which was by the *Emperour* made independent from any other Ecclesiastical power. His answer is this,

2. Then he goes on with two examples, in which he would persuade us that *Justiniana prima*, and *Carthage* were made exempt cities by the *Emperour*, and seeth not that his own instance giveth the answer, for as in the temporal donation, he doth not exempt them from his own subjection, so neither from the Popes in spiritual, nor as much as giveth them the style of Patriarchs; though the Bishop of Constantinople in his own city ordinarily had it.
3. That *Justiniana prima* was by *Justinian* exempted from all others (and so from the Bishop of Rome his) *Inrisdiction* (and so *Carthage* also; being invested with the same privileges) I thought sufficiently proved by the plain words of the constitution, that for any differences that should befall in that Province, the Archbishop of that new erection from time to time, should decide them finally, *nec ad alium quendam eatur*, and they should go to no other for decision, or by way of appeal, and so in the Novell, *ἔχοντες τὴν ἰδίαν δικαιοδοσίαν τὰς ἐπισκοπὰς &c.* he shall have under his own jurisdiction the Bishops of *Dacia*, &c. which what is it, but a perfect exemption and independency?
4. The same appears also by the other part of the constitution, that concerning ordination of that Archbishop, It was, as was said, to be done by his own Synod of Metropolitans. To which agrees that of the Novell 131. *Αὐτὸν δὲ καὶ τῆς οἰκίας συνόδου χρεοφωνεῖται* He must be ordained by his own Synod.
5. To this the answer given here, and given, saith he, by my own instance, is no more than this, that as in the temporal donation he doth not exempt them from his own subjection, so neither from the Popes in spiritual. But sure there is no force

in this comparison; For the *not exempting* him in temporal things from his own power, doth no way conclude a *non-exemption* from the Pope; When Henry VIII. removed the Papal power out of this nation, no man thinks he divested himself of the *regal*; the Archbishop of Canterbury was made *Independent*, and exempt from the Bishop of Rome, but remained still *subordinate* to the King: So in like manner *Iustinian* might doe, make *Iustiniana* a *Primacy*, and yet leave the Bishop and his whole Province in the same *subjection* to the *Emperour*, that before it had been; And as this is very possible, so if it were not the plain truth of the *fact*, that must be made appear by the *story*, or by the *investiture*.

6. In that there is no sound of any word for the *exempting* that Bishop from the *Imperial subjection*, and so we cannot imagine, without any ground, that there was any such thing, but for *Ecclesiastical judicature* and *ordination*, they are both distinctly specified, that he and his *Metropolitans* should have them within themselves, without fetching them abroad from any other; and so by that the Bishop of Rome is explicitly excluded from having any thing to doe there.

7. This farther appears, not onely by the matter of *fact*, for after the first Archbishop was ordained by Pope *Vigilius*, his successors were constantly ordained by their own *Metropolitans*, and not by the Bishop of Rome, but also by farther expresse words in the **Novell*, ἐν ταῖς αὐταῖς ὑποκριματικαῖς αὐτῷ ἐπαρχίας καὶ τοπὸν ἐπέχον αὐτὸν τῷ Ἀποστολικῷ Ῥώμης θρόνῳ, In the Provinces subject to him he shall hold the place of the Apostolical seat of Rome, i. e. doe all within those Provinces that the Bishop of Rome was wont to doe, before this *Primacy* was erected, and this, it seems, by direct consent of *Vigilius* then Pope, as there it follows, καὶ τὰ δεδωμένα ἀπὸ τοῦ ἁγίου Πάππα Βιγιλίου, according to what was defined by the Holy Father *Vigilius*.

8. Which words if they be conceived to denote no more than a *deputation* from the Pope by which this power was held, and so be made use of as an argument to inferre his continued dependence on the See of Rome, that will be found to be a mistake, the whole *investiture* giving the Archbishop there an *αὐτεκράτεια* a perfect freedom, and *absoluteness*, to be heard within

* Νεαρ, 9λα.

within his *Province*, independent from all others. And should it by any other way appear that *Vigilius*, who ordained the first *Bishop* there (as 'tis sure he must be ordained by some body, and none fitter for it than the *Bishop* of old *Rome*) did farther give him a *deputation*, as I see it affirmed (but not by this *Gentleman*) both of *Vigilius*, and after him of *Gregory*, yet certainly this was but a *formality*, without any farther effect or influence on the *investiture*, the *privileges* of that *See* came to it meerly by the *Act* of the *Emperour* (and that *Act* was entred a part of the *Imperial Law*) to which the supposed addition of the *Pope's deputation* can be no prejudice; And secondly, the *Bishop* of *Carthage*, which by that *Constitution* is invested with the very same *privileges* by the *Emperour*, is not pretended to have received any such *deputation* from the *Pope*, and yet by virtue of the *Emperours act* was freed from all former dependence, and enjoyed the *πρεσβυσιον* and *δικαιον μητροπολιτικον* the *privilege* of a *Metropolitan*, in the same manner, as *Iustiniana* did.

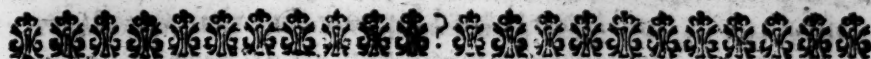
9. What this *Gentleman* adds, that the *Emperour* gave not so much as the *style* of *Patriarch* to the *Bishop* of *Iustiniana*, though the *Bishop* of *Constantinople* in his own city ordinarily had it, will soon appear to signifie nothing; For first, the power, not the title is that we speak of, and that may be had in plenitude, without the name; the *Archbishop* of *Cyprus* was by the *Council* of *Ephesus* adjudged to have all power within himself, so as to go neither to *Antioch* nor to *Rome* for it, and yet was not raised to any higher title, than that of *Archbishop*.

10. Secondly, I suppose *Primate* and *Patriarch* to be perfectly all one, as to matter of power and dignity; that the *Archbishops* of *Constantinople* and *Hierusalem*, so styled in the ancient *Canons*, were yet ordinarily called *Patriarchs*, was no injury to the *Patriarch* of *Antioch*, saith *Theod: Balsamon*, himself *Patriarch* of *Antioch* in his *μελέτη ἐπὶ Πατριαρχ: πρεσβυ: διὰ τὴν ταυτοτητα τῆς τιμης*, because of the identity of the honour. And accordingly in the *Councils* the *Archbishop* of *Constantinople*, under that title is placed before the *Patriarch* of *Antioch*, yea and of *Alexandria*, who yet by the

θεῖαι καὶ ἁγία γραφαὶ *divine and holy writings* (i. e. the *Canons*) by the πατέρες παροδόντες *traditions of the Fathers*, was styled *Pope*, saith *Balsamon*. And therefore for *Justiniana* also this was sufficient; It was made a *Primacy*, and then it matters not, though it were not styled a *Patriarchy*; The exemption from *Rome* and all other *forreign power* is all I pretend this city had, and of that there can be no *question*, whatsoever title belonged to it.

- II. Thirdly, this *Gentleman's* saying that the *Bishop of Constantinople* had the title of *Patriarch* in his own city, would make one believe that he had it not *elsewhere*, which yet it is notorious that he had, Παλειάρχας ἀνακηρύττει, he and the *Archbishop of Jerusalem* were publickly called *Patriarchs*, saith *Balsamon*, and he renders the reason, διὰ τὸ ἐπέχειν τὰς πέντε παλειάρχας τοπὸν τῆς μιᾶς κεφαλῆς τῷ σώματι ὁ δὲ ἅγιον ἐκκλησιῶν τῶ θεῷ, *because the five Patriarchs* (of which number they were two) held the place of the head of the body, to wit, of the holy Churches of God. But whatsoever the title were, it is still sure enough it had the power and dignity of a *Patriarchate*, first by *custome*, then by *Canons* of two *General Councils*, *Constantinople* and *Chalcedon* (for I suppose the setting it next and equal to *Rome*, and before *Antioch* and *Alexandria*, will amount to this) also by that very *Novell* of *Justinian*, where the privileges are conferred on *Justiniana*, Τὸν μακαριώτατον Ἀρχιεπίσκοπον Κωνσταντινουπόλεως τῆς νέας Ῥώμης δευτέραν τάξιν ἐπέχειν μετὰ τὸ ἅγιον ἀποστολικὸν θρόνον τῆς πρεσβυτέρης Ῥώμης, ἢ τὰ ἄλλων πάντων περιμῶν, the *Archbishop of new Rome, Constantinople*, hath the next place after the *Apostolical See of old Rome*, and the precedence of honour before all others. And so much for the *Exceptions* to the *fift Chapter*.

Nsag. glæ'.



CHAP. VI.

An Answer to the Exceptions made to the sixth Chapter.

SECT. I.

The plea for the Popes power from the conversion of England.
Of acquiring of right by two titles.

Num. 1. **T**HE plea from plantation, which was considered in the sixth Chapter, he now proceeds to, in these words,

2. In his sixth Chapter he examineth another title peculiar to England, viz: that our Nation was converted by mission from Rome, and this is totally beside the question, for no man is so stupid as to pretend S. Peter or the Church of Rome to have power over the Universal Church, because his successors converted England: But some pretend a special title of gratitude, the violation of which aggravateth the sin of schismatizing from the Church of Rome in our nation, yet no man, as farre as I can understand, thinks this latter obligation of so high a nature, as that for no occasion or never so great cause, it may not be dispensed with, but onely presse it then when the benefit is slighted, or by colourable arguments to the contrary unworthily avoided: And yet this Doctor quite mistaking the Question frameth an argument, as full of words as empty of matter, affirming there cannot be two successive titles to possession of the same thing, telling us, that he who claimeth a reward as of his own labour and travel must disclaim a donation, &c. if any passed before, and that if a King have right by descent, he cannot claim any thing by conquest, by which you may see his understanding the Law is not much more than his understanding of our principles.

SECT. I.

SECT. 2.

3. What this Gentleman here premiseth, that this plea from the Conversion of this nation by mission from Rome is not used

N. 3.

by

by the *Romanist* to prove us *schismaticks*, I have no reason to confute, but shall from thence suppose that that *sixt Chapter* might have been spared out of that little *Treatise*, and our *Church* competently justified by the *precedent Chapters*; And then all that I shall need adde, is, *First*, that I hope what was by me added *superfluously*, above the necessities of our cause, will not destroy what was before said *pertinently*, and then as I shall onely have lost my *pains*, and there is no farther hurt done, so it must needs be very *unnecessary* for this *Gentleman* to adapt any farther *answers* to that *sixt Chapter*, when he hath once adjudged all that is there said to be totally beside the *Question*.

4. *Secondly*, That if others had been as *prudent*, as this *Gentleman*, I had certainly spared that *Chapter*, It being no interest of mine to invent *pleas* for the *Romanist*, and although, as this *Gentleman* hath pleased to set it, it be a competent stupidity, and that which I never thought any *Romanist* guilty of, to make the *conversion* of *England* a plea to power over the *Universal Church*, yet *England*, and not the *Universal Church*, being the subject of our *Question*, there is not quite so much stupidity in it, to plead the *Popes* power over *England* from the supposed *Conversion* of *England*, And certainly I did not dream that some *Romanists* have thus pleaded, but, as I said before, if this *Gentleman* will not insist on it, neither shall I farther importune him about it.

5. For that of *gratitude* which he now mentions onely as an aggravation of the sin of *schismatizing*, wch that we are guilty of, he acknowledges must be proved by some other means, I yeild to the force of it, that it might justly adde a weight to the obligation, which formerly lay upon us, supposing any such there were, but cannot lay an obligation to obedience where before it was not due, much lesse were it due unto another. All the benefits that can be heaped on me by any man that gives me not my being, cannot oblige or engage my subjection to him, without the intervenienc of my own consent, if I am perfectly free to choose my *Sovereign*, and without the consent of my former *Sovereign*, if I have any.

6. So that the whole *Question* must be, whether by any original

ginal right the *Bishop of Rome* had power over this *Kingdome*, and so whether by that, our *obedience* was due to him, for if it were, then this *gratitude* was not the *tenure*, but that other; and if it were not, then neither of the *titles* are in force against us; not the first, which hath no *being*; nor the second, which whatsoever it be, obligeth not to *obedience*.

7. This I thought was apparent by the *instance* of the several *claims* to a *Kingdome*, by *descent*, and by *conquest*, the one of which, if it stood, as the *title*, supersedeth the other, he that holds by *inheritance*, cannot be properly said to hold by *conquest*, even when it is true that he hath *conquered* also. For in that case, when the right heir being forced to make use of his sword to give him *possession*, is *successfull* and *victorious* in it, all that his sword doth, is to give him *possession*, not to give him *right*, for that he had before by *inheritance*.
8. That the same *right* cannot be held by two *tenures* appears by this; because if it might, it being evidently possible that those two *tenures* might be *separated* and placed in several *subjects*, the *inheritance* in one, the *conquest* in another, it must follow from thence, that each of those persons shall have the *right*; which as it is unimaginable, speaking of the whole *right* or *propriety* in *integrum* to the whole *power*, for if one have it *all*, the other can have no part of it, so if it be applied to a *partial right* (which more than one may have, either *severally*, or *socially*, and *jointly*, to the same thing) then that is the changing of the *Question* which spake of the whole *right*, and not onely of some one or more *parts* or *branches* of it.
9. And therefore as this *Gentleman* agrees with me in the *conclusion*, that *Rome* hath no title to our *obedience*, from that of *converting* us, or if it had, it could not plead the same from *S. Peter's universal Pastorship*, so I cannot discern, why my way of *inferring* it was disliked, or my *ignorance* in the *Lanes* censured, for saying that the *title* of *descent* is exclusive to that of *conquest*, meaning it not of several parts, of which one comes by *descent*, the other by *conquest*, but of the same whole thing, of which he that hath the right by *descent*, may by the sword and *conquest* vindicate his right, and acquire
quiet

quiet possession, but cannot be said to acquire his right by those means, being supposed to have had it, before he made use of them.

SECT. II.

The British Church not converted from Rome.

- Num. 1. **H**AVING granted me my conclusion, that our obedience to Rome is not due from the Nation's conversion by mission from thence, he is yet resolved to examine my arguments, by which I prove what he grants. And there be three things, that here he takes notice of. The first in these words,
2. *But to come to some matter, His first argument is that this Island was converted before S. Augustine's time, surely he means by the name of Island, the Land and Mountains and trees, for if he speak of the men, what hath the conversion of the former Islanders to doe with the subjection and duty which the Saxons owe.*
3. I answer, by this *Island*, I mean not the mountains, nor trees, on one side, any more than the present individual persons on the other side, but the inhabitants of it indefinitely, who have succeeded one another, whether British or Saxon by extraction. For, first, of the British it is certain that they were not converted by mission from Rome, but were Christians long before S. Augustine's coming hither, And Secondly, of the Saxons it may be remembred, that Augustine did not absolutely introduce Christianity among them here, but Luidhardus, that came out of France with Bertha, Ethelred's Wife, and was a Bishop here, had prepared the way for Augustine. See Bede Hist: Eccl: lib. 1. c. 15, 26. And Thirdly, if Augustine were the first converter of the Saxons, and so that be, without farther question, granted of him, yet that cannot belong to the whole Island, the Dominion of Wales being neither of Saxon extraction, nor converted from Rome to Christianity. And this is the designe of that argument of mine, In case there were a duty owing to that See, from whence the converter came, and in case that were acknowledged

known to pertain to the *Saxons*, yet still the *British* part would not be concluded by either of these, it being certain that their *Ancestors* were not comprehended in this number.

4. But because this *Gentleman* waves this title from *conversion*, neither shall I farther insist to disprove it; But rather ask, why no answer was made to those *testimonies*, which in that place were occasionally vouched to shew that at the time of *Augustine's* coming into this *Island*, the *Christian Church* here acknowledged no subjection to *Rome*, or to any other *Church*, to be due from them, which certainly is some prejudice to the claim drawn from the *Universal Pastorship* of *S. Peter* and his *successor* at *Rome*.

5. To that which is there said for the evidencing this out of the *Annals* of *Gisburne*, It will not be amiss here to add what our *stories* tell us, that when the *Pelagian heresie*, which first sprang from *Morgan* a *Britain*, was by *Agricola* brought into this *Island*, the *Britains* * unwilling to receive their *insults*, and yet unable to resist them without assistance from some other *Church*, in this time of need, applied not themselves to *Rome*, as in their * *secular* distresses they had accustomed, but to their neighbours of *France*, who calling a *Council* sent *Germanus Altiflodorensis* and *Lupus* to their aid, by which means the *Catholic Faith* was much revived and increased and propagated among them.

* Neq; suscipere
dogma perversū
vellent, neque
versutiam ne-
faria persuasionis
refutare verbis
certando suffice-
rent: Bed. l. 1.
c. 17.
* Bed. l. 1.
c. 12, 13.

SECT. III.

S. Paul's plantations an argument against the Universal Pastorship of S. Peter. S. Paul's being Bishop of Rome, no answer to it.

Num. 1. THE argument which he next speaks to, is that wherein from *Paul's* having planted some *Churches*, which yet are not subjected to the *Chair*, where *S. Paul* sat (whether *Antioch* or *Rome*) I conclude against this claim of power from the title of *conversion*: To this he thus speaks,

2. His next Argument demandeth, whether all that *S. Paul* converted, were obliged to be under him; truly if it were to purpose,

SECT. 8.

pose, I believe there might be proof that S. Paul expected it; but he doth not remember that he told us S. Paul was Bishop of Rome, and so it cometh to the same question, but indeed he quite misseeth the matter, for no body stateth this for the Popes title, but aggravation of the schisme.

3. 3. To what purpose it is to say there might be proof, and yet to produce none, I know not; This onely I desire to note, that if any such proof were produced, and, without that, by the bare pretending that it might be proved, S. Peter's universal Pastorship must be disclaimed, and consequently all right which derives its original from thence.

4. For S. Paul's Labours being more abundant than all the Apostles, 'tis certain great numbers were converted by him, and if all they were to be under S. Paul, how can S. Peter be Pastor and Ruler of all, it being certain, that S. Paul was not subordinate to S. Peter.

5. And it is of little force what I am reminded of (though sure I never forgot it) that S. Paul was Bishop of Rome, and so it cometh to the same question: For 1. S. Paul being Bishop of the Gentile part of the Roman Christians, as S. Peter of the Jewish, and those then disparate congregations, S. Paul cannot be thought in his converting the Gentiles of other nations, to bring in subjects to S. Peter; And 2. it is evident that S. Paul was not Bishop of Rome when he placed Timothy over Asia, and Titus over Crete, and consequently the conversion and establishment of those Churches was not in any reason to acquire any Dominion to Rome, which S. Paul had never seen at that time, and which was it self converted after those, and that was it which I was proving.

6. But he bethinketh himself at last, and confesseth that this of conversion is not the Pape's title to England, And having done so before, why might he not have permitted me to bring undeniable evidences for the proof of it?

Sect. IV.

The concernments of Rome in the Princes power to remove Patriarchates. The examples of it. Justiniana, the Canon of Chalcedon, and the 6^c Council. Valentinian making Ravenna a Patriarchate. Ἀνωθεν ὑποβίβα.

Num. I. **T**O put this whole matter out of controversy, viz: that the Church of England is not bound to be subject to that Church, from which it first received the Faith, one head of argument I pitcht on, the power of Kings to remove or erect Primacies and Patriarchates, which if it have truth in it, evidently proves, that in case we were once under the See of Rome, as our Patriarchate or Prime See (supposing that of Universal Pastorship disproved before, and not reconcilable with this title to England by having converted) yet it was in the power of our Kings to remove that from Rome to Canterbury. For the proof of this, evidences were brought both from the Council (and that OEcumenical) of Chalcedon, and from the practice of Princes, particularly Justinian in an eminent instance, and Valentinian and others before the Council of Chalcedon, and many the like examples in the Records of this Kingdome, and of others, as is shewed at large, and the ground of all insisted on, the supreme power of Kings in Ecclesiastical affairs, and this is done in 16 sections, from the 9th to the end of that Chapter. Against all which (that we may see how true the title of this Gentleman's Book is, *An Answer to the most material parts &c.*) that which is confronted, is contained in these words,

2. Thirdly, He saith it was in the Emperors power to constitute Patriarchs: whether that be so or not, it will not be much to our purpose to dispute here, onely this I say, that he seems neither to understand the question, nor proves what he would; he understands not the question, which hath no dependency on the nature of Patriarchs, or terms of gratitude, but on the donation of Christ: he proves not what he would, for he produceth onely the act of an Emperour accounted Tyrannical towards the Church, without proof and discussion whether it was well or ill done, which

was requisite to make good his proof; neither doth he say whether the thing were done or no by the consent of Bishops, especially since the Pope was an Actor in the businesse, he addeth an Apocryphal decree of Valentinian the third, for giving of privileges purely Ecclesiastical to the Bishop of Ravenna, which out of his liberality he makes a Patriarch, but on the whole matter this is to be observed, that generally the Bishops consents were pradedemanded or præordered, as in the Council of Chalcedon, Can. 17. it is ordered that the Church should translate their Bishopricks according to the Emperours changing of his City, and when the Emperours did it, it is said they did it according to the power given them, to wit, by the Church, so that a few examples to the contrary, produced in the reigns of headstrong and Tyrannical Princes, as the most of those are noted to be, under whom they are urged, prove nothing, and if they did, yet cannot they be taken as testimonies, When these matters of fact are onely so attributed to Princes, as no way to exclude the Church, but whatsoever it was, it doth not at all appertain to the question, since the Popes authority, in the sense he calls him Pope, is not properly Patriarchal, nor hath any dependency upon, or from change of places made by the command of Princes.

3. The first thing here answered is, that it is not much to the Romanists purpose to dispute, whether or no the Emperour hath power to constitute Patriarchs. (He ought to have added, or to translate them from one City to another, for that is in that Tract also expressly proved, but this I suppose not without reason omitted, because the power to erect or constitute, supposes and implies the power to translate them.) And if this be not this Gentleman's interest to dispute, I shall then by his good leave, suppose it yeilded me, and observe what the consequences will be.

4. And 1. In case the power of the Pope be a Patriarchal power, and no more, and that appear to be all that the ancient Councils ever allowed it to be, then it immediately followes, that it is in the power of the Emperour to translate and remove it from that to any other See, and in that case what befell Constantinople by way of advancement, from the
title

title of an ordinary *Suffragan Bishops See*, it ascended to equal dignity and *privileges* with *Rome* it self, will in the reverse be the condition of *Rome*; from the first *Patriarchal See* in the whole world, nothing hinders but that it may become the *See* of the most ordinary *Bishop*. And sure 'twill be the *Romanists* concernment to dispute that principle, from which this may possibly be the *undeniable conclusion*.

5. But if, as here it seems to be interposed, the power of *Rome* be that of *Universal Pastorship*, no way dependant on the nature of *Patriarchs*, or on any other tenure, but the donation of *Christ* to *Saint Peter*, then 1. it must be remembered that after the refuting of any such right from *Christs* donation in the former Chapters, the removal also of this was in all reason to prove of some interest to the *Romanist*, and so it must, till the proofes of those Chapters be perfectly answered, which yet hath not been done in any degree, as this reply to the few answers applyed to those Chapters hath shewed.

6. Secondly, This adhering thus wholly to this donation of *Christ*, and the *Universal Pastorship* deduced from thence, is the direct disclaiming of all the *Canonical Privileges* belonging to *Rome*, on the score of *Patriarchy*, and so in case that first tenure shall faile; it is the degrading of *Rome* from that dignity, which by *antient Canon* belong'd to it, that of the *Prime Patriarchy*, and so cuts the *Romanist* off from all the advantage he can reape either from the affirmation of *Fathers* or *Councils*, any farther than they are founded in, and referre to *Christs* donation of *Universal Pastorship* to *Saint Peter*, which whether it will prove to be the interest of this Gentleman, I must leave him to judge for himselfe, and onely adde in the last place, that against him that asserts the *Bishop* of *Romes Universal Pastorship* upon what title soever, this will necessarily be a shrewd prejudice, if it be not disputed but yeilded, that it is in the power of *Princes* to erect or translate *Patriarchies*, by *Patriarchies* understanding (as it is evident I doe in that discourse) chiefe *Independent* authorities over other Churches, such as was by *Justinian* conferred on *Justiniana Prima* and *Carthage*, by *Valentinian*.

on *Ravenna*, without any *subordination* to, or *dependence* on any other, particularly on the *See of Rome*.

7. Can any thing be more *prejudicial* to the *Universal Pastorship* of *Rome* than this? Can *Rome* be *Pastor* of those who have no *dependance* on her? or can that be *Universal*, from which some particulars are *exempt*?
8. This made it but *necessary* for this *Gentleman* to undertake two things in the following words, that I *neither understand the question, nor prove what I would*; for if I shall yet appear to judge aright of the *question*, even as it is by this *Gentleman* brought back to that which had been debated in the former *Chapters*, whether the *Bishop of Rome* be *Universal Pastor* by *Christs donation* to *Saint Peter*, and if I have really proved that it is in the *power of Emperours and Princes* to *constitute and remove Patriarchies*, It will certainly follow, that I have done all that I *undertook to doe*, evinced the matter of the *question*, and shewd that it is in the *power of Princes* to *exempt some Churches* from the *Popes dominion*, and so superseded the *Universality* of his *Pastorship*.
9. As for the *validity* of my *proofes*, that must be judged by the *view* of the *Answers* applied to them, 1. that I produce *onely the act of an Emperour accounted Tyrannicall towards the Church*. To this I answer, 1. that the word [*onely*] excluding all others, the *proposition* can have no truth in it, it being evident that I produce many other *acts* of the same *Imperial power*, as the *Reader* may finde by casting his eye on the place, the latter part of that 6. *Chapt* and this *Gentleman* himselfe shall be my *witnesse*, (who saith of me [*he addeth an Apocryphal decree of Valentinian*]) which though it be not a *recitation* of all that are by me added, yet is sufficient to *tesifie the contrary*, to what the [*onely*] had affirmed.
10. Secondly, The *character* that is given that *Emperour*, whose act I first produced, that he is *accounted Tyrannicall towards the Church*, will, I suppose, signifie but this, that he that did any thing *derogatory* to the *Universal Pastorship* of the *Bishop of Rome*, is by this prejudged from yeilding us any *competens testimony* in this dispute, which is in effect that this *Gentleman* is in the *right*, and all that is, or shall, or can be brought

brought against him must signifie nothing, which sure is not the way of answering arguments, but adhering to conclusions, without weighing what is or can be brought against them.

11. Thirdly, For that particular act, and the Emperor which is thus censured: It is Justinian, that great and famous Emperour, his making the Bishop of Justiniana Prima the head of all Dacia, &c. of which this Gentleman had past a very different judgement, when it came under his view in the former Chapter.
12. There his answer was, the Emperour exempted it not from the Popes subjection, pag 15. and yet now when the very same passage comes in his way againe, he hath forgotten himselfe, and the Emperour, that just now had as great care of the Popes spiritual power, as of his owne civill, is in a moment become Tyrannicall towards the Church. I desire one of these answers, being thus engaged, may make good the contest against the other.
13. But then 4. whatsoever can be said of that Emperor in other respects, 'tis certaine that this erecting of Justiniana was no act of tyranny against the Church, but the very thing that is authorised by the 17 Canon of the General Council of Chalcedon (which is one of those that the Pope at his consecration solemnly vows to observe, and all the Ordinances made in them) for that resolves that if any City be built or restored by the Kings power, the Ecclesiastical order must follow the Political, τύποι i. e. the βασιλικὰ πρὸς δὲ καλὰ, saith the Scholiast, the Imperial decrees concerning that City. * ἔχειν ἐπισκοπῆς ἀξίωμα ἢ μητροπόλεως, to have the dignity of * Balsam. in an Episcopal or Metropolitan See. And the same againe in the Concil: in Trullo same words was decreed by the 6. Council in Trullo, Can. 38. Can. 38. from whence certainly Balsamon's conclusion is irrefragable, * ὅτι ἔστι τῷ βασιλεῖ πρὸς νόμιμα ἐκκλησιαστικὰ ἀφαιρῆσαι, that * I Consil. Chal. it is lawfull (and so sure not Tyrannical) for a Prince to take away (or remove) the privileges of the Church of any City, and * ὁποῦν τὴν ἐν βελαντίᾳ αὐτῶν χεῖρ τῶν ἐπισκοπικῶν δικαίων, * 1b. pag. 342. to determine, as he shall please, concerning the Privileges of Bishops.

His

14. His second answer is, that I doe not say whether the thing were done or no by the consent of Bishops, especially since the Pope was an Actor in the businesse. To which I answer, that when I have made it appear to be the act of the Emperour, and that by the Canons of Councils it was acknowledged fully lawfull for the Emperour, and so for other Princes, to doe so, I need neither inquire whether the consent of Bishops, or of the Pope himself were added to it, such formalities of consent may be had or omitted without any disturbance to, or influence on the matter.
15. His third answer is applied to that Act of Valentinian, which made Ravenna a Patriarchate, and first he calls the Decree of that Emperour an Apocryphall decree; 2. He saith that it was giving to the Bishop privileges purely Ecclesiastical, reproving me for making him a Patriarch; For the first, I answer, that as I never thought it any piece of the Canon of Scripture, by which Valentinian did this or any more than a Rescript of an Emperour, which, if such, is certainly sufficient to expresse it an Imperial Act, so the authorities for this may rescue it from farther question, for though it were not Baronius's interest to believe it, and so it is by him suspected of forgery, An. 432. n. 93. yet even he acknowledgeth it to be very antient, and owned by several Writers, n. 92. and afterwards, when the same authorities which are produced for this, Hier: Rubens, and the Records of Ravenna, seem to favour his grand design, i. e. make for Rome, he can then very fairly make use of them, though it be but a narration of a vision, An. 433. n. 24. But I need not lay more weight on this, than the Apocryphal (as he calls it) Decree will be able to support, this is no singular president, many examples there are of the like which are there mentioned in the Tract of Schisme.
16. For the second, Patriarchal power Ravenna had without any dependance on the Bishop of Rome, and I pretend no more for the Bishop of Canterbury, and therein also shall bate him the title of Patriarch, What he adds (by way of observation on the whole matter) 1. that generally the Bishops consents were prademanded or praordered, as in the Council of Chalcedon, Can. 17. Secondly, that what the Emperours did, they did

did by the power given them by the Church, will soon appear to bring him little advantage, For

17. 1. The Bishop's (I suppose he means the Bishop of Rome his) consent was not asked ; One part of the story is, that when the Bishop of Ravenna, being fain to flie to the Bishop of Rome for support against the Longobards, submitted himself to him, the people of Ravenna thought themselves injured thereby ; And 2. it is not truly said, that it was praordered, and the Canon of the Council of Chalcedon cannot be brought to that purpose, this act of Valentinians dated Anno 432. being 19 years before the Council of Chalcedon, which was assembled Anno 451. and so sure not praordained by that which was subsequent ; And indeed the Canon of that Council mentioning Cities and Churches in the plural, which had been * before their Session made Metropoles by several Kings, is a clear evidence that there were other such, beside that of Ravenna, and * Balsamon expresth them by the name of Madyta, and Abydus &c.
18. Thirdly, If this be acknowledged an act of Council confirming the lawfulness of what the Emperours had thus done, and decreeing (as clearly the Council of Chalcedon and that other in Trullo did) that generally it should be thus, that as the Prince made an ordinary City a Metropolis, the Church of that City should be a Metropolitan Church, then still this is the fuller evidence, that it was lawfull for Princes thus to doe, and that as oft as they did, such changes in the Churches followed, for sure a King was not obliged to ask the Churches leave to repair or build a city.
19. Lastly, What out of Balsamon was cited by me, that what the Emperors did in this matter they did according to the power that was given them] was, it seems, either an occasion of stumbling to this Gentleman, or an excuse of it ; For from hence he concludes that this power was given them by the Church ; This, if it be true, is the thing that I would demand, and so farre, from answering mine instance: for if the Church have given Princes this power, then they may freely and lawfully make use of it ; and Justinian's doing so could be no tyrannical act against the Church. But let us view * Balsamon's

* ὅσαι ἤδη πόλεις διὰ γεφυμάτων βασιλικῶν τῆς μητροπόλεως ἐτιμήθησαν ὀνόματι, Can. 12.
* Διαφορεῖ βασιλεῖς ἐπισκοπὰς εἰς μητροπόλεις ἐτίμησαν, Balsam: in Can: 12.

* in Chalced: Can. 12.

words, They are these, τὰς τοιούτους γίνεσθαι δεισμὸς παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέων καὶ τὴν δοθεῖσαν αὐτοῖς ἀνωθεν ἐξουσίαν, *such definitions are made by Kings according to the power given them from above.* That word ἀνωθεν *from above*, sometimes signifies in respect of *time*, sometimes also in respect of *place*; In the *first* respect it signifies *from of old*, and is oft joyned with ἀπ' ἀρχῆς, *from the beginning*; and if it be so taken here, as *Gentianus Hervetus* interprets it *olim*, it must then signify that this power was yeilded to Kings either by the *Apostles*, or by the *Primitive Canons* of the Church, and if it were thus given them by the Church, then sure they might justly challenge and exercise it freely. But in the second sense, it is as certain that ἀνωθεν signifies *from above*, i. e. *from heaven*, so *Joh. 19. 11.* Christ tells Pilate, *thou couldst have no power over me, εἰ μὴ ᾧ σοι δεδομένον ἀνωθεν*, *unlesse it were given thee from above*, i. e. *sure from heaven*, from God, by whom Kings reign and have their power, and so it very frequently signifies in the * *Scripture*; And if that be the the meaning, then this Gentleman sees how well he hath inferred his conclusion from this passage.

* *Jam. 1. 17.*
3. 15, 17.
&c.

20. By all this it already appears what truth there is in this suggestion, that the *examples produced* are but *few*, and those of *tyrannical Princes*, and *no way excluding the Church*] just as much, and no more, as was in the *premises*, which induced it, and those being *discovered* already, it is *superfluous* to make repetitions so soon in this place.

21. In the close he thinks fit to retire again to his old *fortresse*, that the *Popes power* is not *Patriarchal*, and so that he is still safe from all that hath been said on that head; But it hath now appeared, that if any other be made a *Patriarch* or *Primate*, or (whatever the style be) a *Bishop* without any dependence on the *Pope*, this is a *prejudice* sufficient to his *Universal Pastorship*, and other *disadvantages* he is rather in reason to expect by disclaiming the *Patriarchal authority*, which the *Canons* have allowed him, than hope to gain any thing by *contemning his inheritance*.



CHAP. VII.

An Answer to the Exceptions made to the seventh Chapter.

SECT. I.

King Henry's desire of Reconciliation to Rome. The sacrilege, &c. no argument against Regal power to remove Patriarchies. Possession in the belief of the Popes supremacy. Prescribing for error. Napier's testimony. Possession, if granted from Augustine's coming into England, no argument of truth. Confessions of Popes. Augustine required it not. Pope Gregory's testimony. Many evidences that this belief was not received after Augustine's time.

Num. I. **W**HAT in the next place is replied to that part of Chapter 7. which concerned Henry VIII. his act of ejecting the Power of the Pope, will be full matter for a first section of this Chapter. He begins thus,

2. *In his seventh Chapter he intends a justification of the breach Begun in Whereof as he doth not teach the infamous occasion, and how to his Hen. 8. dying day the same King desired to be reconciled, as also that it was but the coming two daies short of a Post to Rome, which hindered that the reconcilement was not actually made, as may be seen in my Lord of Cherbery's Book fol. 368. and that the moderate Protestants curse the day wherein it was made, so the very naming of Hen. VIII. is enough to confute all his discourse, Sir Walter one of the darlings of his daughter having given him such a Raleigh in character, as hath stamped him for England's Nero to future Posterity, and as it was said of Nero in respect of Christian religion, so might it be of him respecting the unity of the Church, World. viz: it must be a great good that he began to persecute and abolish: and as for the Acts passed in the Universities, Convoca-*

tion or Parliament, let the blood shed by that Tyrant bear witness what voluntary and free Acts they were, especially those two upon his Seneca and Burrhus, Bishop Fisher, and the Chancellor More, that he might want nothing of being thoroughly paralleld to Nero.

But methinks the Doctor differs not much in this, seeming tacitly to grant the Bishops were forced, awed by that noted sword in a slender thread, the prerogative which did hang over their heads, though in the conclusion of that Sect: he saies we ought to judge charitably, viz: that they did not judge for fear nor temporal Interests, yet after waves the advantage of that charitable judgment, and saith, That if what was determined were falsely determined by the King and Bishops, then the voluntary and free doing it will not justifie, and if it were not, then was there truth in it, antecedent to, and abstracted from the determination, and it was their duty so to determine, and crime that they were unwilling: laying the whole weight of the argument upon this, that the pretensions for the Popes supremacy in England must be founded either as successor to S. Peter in the universal Pastorship of the Church, so including England as a member thereof; or upon paternal right respecting S. Augustine's conversion, or upon concession from some of our Kings &c. To which I answer, that we relie on the first as the foundation and corner-stone of the whole building, On the second as an action worthy the successor of S. Peter, which requires a gratefull consideration from us; And on the third not as a concession, but as a just acknowlengment of what was necessary for the good of Christian Religion, taught our Kings by those who taught them Christian Religion; of which belief, I mean that the Pope as Successor to S. Peter is head and governour of the Universal Church, we have been in possession ever since the conversion of our English Ancestors, then Saxons, to the Christian religion, made by Austin the Monk sent hither by Pope Gregory for that purpose; untill that good King Henry the VIII. out of scrupulosity of conscience (no doubt) was pleased to cut the Gordian knot of those bonds, within which all his Ancestors limited themselves; neither shall all that the Doctor and his fellows have said, or can say, justifie themselves so, but that such a possession, as I here speak

speake of, will convince them of schisme, though all those replies, which by ours have been 40 times made to every one of those arguments the Doctor uses, should bear but equal weight in the scale, which we think hoises it up into the aire, for the arguments must be demonstrative and clear to men of common sense, that must overthrow such a possession; and therefore it is that the Puritans, who are much lesse friends to the Church of Rome than to the Church of England, have all disputing out of Antiquity, and confesse that the Church of Rome hath born a sway without any debatable contradiction over the Christian world 1260 years, a time that no King in the world can pretend to by succession from his Ancestors for possession of his crown, and yet I believe the Doctor would conclude those subjects guilty of rebellion, which should goe about to deprive such a King of his Crown, though he could not shew writings evidently concluding for him 12, 14, 15, or 1600 years agoe, how much more if he could shew them demonstrating his right, in the interpretation of as wise and learned men as the world hath, and 20 times the numbers of their adversaries.

Napier on
the Revela-
tion.

3. The first thing here objected to my discourse, is, as Orators are wont to doe for the raising of passions, a mention of some circumstances, which though extrinsecal to the matter, may yet hope to have some influence on an unwary Reader, and infuse no small prejudices into him; such are the infamous occasion of the breach begun by that King, and such is the odious character fastned on him of England's Nero &c.
4. But it cannot be necessary for me to offer an Apologie on either of these two heads, If that which he did in this particular of ejecting the Papal power, be in it self justifiable, both in respect of the matter of the action, and the competency of the power that did it, it matters not what moved him to doe it, or how inclinable he was to have rescinded it. The farther he were from a truly pious man, the more likely it is, he might be brought by secular interests (and the lesse likely that it was by any religious) to undoe all that upon the weightiest grounds of reason, had been establisht by him. Without examining therefore the truth of that suggestion, that to his dying day he desired to be reconciled, and without demanding

what is meant by that phrase, *desired to be reconciled*, whether any *overture* to receive the *Popes* on his *owne* termes, into full possession againe, or onely a *desire* to approve himselfe to the *Pope*, that he still maintained the *Catholike*, nay *Roman Faith* (as we know he put men to death for denying some *Doctrines* profest at *Rome*) that what he had done was no whit *injurious* to him, prejudiciall, or derogatory to any *right*, which could justly be chalenged by the *Pope* in this *Kingdome*; without either of these inquires, I say, If I shall take for granted the *utmost* that can be pretended, that for a long time together he *desired* to have *rescinded* what he had done, I see not what *disadvantage* this can be to our *pretensions*.

5. For 1. I shall demand, was he all this while, that he thus desired to be *reconciled*, a truly *changed* and *Pious Prince*, was that *principle* of wicked *life* so soone *eradicated*, which even now denominated him a *Nero*, and made it fit to esteeme that a great good, which he began to *abolish*, and did he thus continue a new, reformed penitent to his *dying day*? If so, then truly Sir *W. R.* was very *unkinde* and *unchristian* in recording his *crimes*, and omitting his *repentance*; and it is no excellent port of this *Gentlemans* character, that he thought fit to *imitate* and *quote* him in this; the same *injustice* in an *Historian* or *Observer*, that it had been in *Eusebius* to take so much of the *life* of *Constantine* out of *Zosimus* or *Julian's* *Cesars*, as should render him justly *odious*, and to omit the whole *latter* part of his *life*, which was so eminently *vertuous* and *Christian*.

6. But if this *Prince* still continued to be like that *image*, which here is *pourtrayed* of him, then sure I shall with the same *evidence* of *prooffe* be allowed to object those *vices*, and those no excellent *Christian* motives that incited it, to his *desire* of being *reconciled*, or his willingnesse to *re-admit* the *Papall* power into this *Kingdome*, and conclude, that the *ejection* of it must be a great good, which he was so *inclinable* to *abolish*, and so the *faith* of the *reformed*, which he so more than began to *persecute*, and all this as regularly as his *personall* vices, and the *infamous* occasion, be it never so truly so, can

can be objected to that act of State, which pass in that Kings reigne, for the disclaiming the Papal powers among us.

7. Nay, if that passage in his storie had acquired a yet farther degree of Truth, if the Post had come two dayes sooner to Rome, and so had actually composed the difference between that King and that Pope, so as had been most for the interest of Rome, yet it is evident, that my discourse had no way been concerned in this; This evidently had been no more, than what afterwards came to passe in Queen Marie's dayes, and it would still be in the power of King Henries immediate successor, to remove the power from Rome to Canterbury, as it had been in the power of Henry either to doe it, or undoe it againe.
8. And therefore the whole matter still divolves (as it did in the tract of Schisme) to that one question, whether the Bishop of Rome had at that time any real authority here, which the King might not lawfully remove from him to the Archbishop of Canterbury, and must be decided as there it is, by the view of Evidences, whether that pretended from Peters Universal Pastorship, or that from Augustines planting Christianity here, or that from the voluntary concession of some Kings, and each of them is so disproved there, that till some competent answer be rendered to those particulars, (which certainly is not yet done by this Gentleman, who onely here tells us the manner how he relies on each of these, and the possession they had of the believe that the Pope was head of the Universal Church) 'tis perfectly unnecessary farther to consider what is here added, onely to inflame passions, but not to satisfie Conscience, to exasperate, not to argue.
9. For what if moderate Protestants should truly curse the day, &c. or, in a more Christian dialect, expresse their dislike to the great Sacrilege, and some other enormities, which were committed in that Princes reigne, what prejudice will this be to any lawfull exercise of that regal power? 'Tis certaine that all the Acts of a bad Prince are not invalid or null, and much more evident still, that he that hath not offended in assuming the power which really belongs to him, may by being denyed that,

that, be *inraged*, and laid open, to importune *Temptations*, and if he be not a through *Christian*, *constant* and *masterly*, fall, and that soulely under those *temptations*. And if *Henry VIII.* did so, still this is very *extrinsecall* to the *present* inquiry, whether he as *King* had power to *remove* a *Patriarchy*, and by that to *remove* all *forraigne jurisdiction* or *authority* out of this *Church*.

10. All that remains in this *Section*, farther to be spoken to, is the *possession* that is here *pleaded*, not in the *power* it selfe, (if it were, that hath *formerly* been spoken to) but in the *believe*, that the *Pope* as *successor* to *S. Peter*, is *head* and *Governour* of the *Universal Church*, This *believe*, saith he, they have been in *possession* of, ever since the *Conversion* of our *English Ancestors*, till *King Henry*; and for this, beside his own *bare* affirmation, he brings no other *prooffe*, than one *testimony* of *Napier* on the *Revelation*, confessing that the *Church of Rome* hath borne a *sway* over the *Christian world* above 1200. *yeares*.

11. And 1. for this kinde of *Possession*, possession in the *believe* of any thing, any farther than that which is believed is *true*, and that appeare some other way, than by our having so long *believed* it, certainly this is no matter of any deep *consideration* to us; If it still appeare to be *true* upon grounds of *reason*, those grounds are the *considerable*, and not the *believe*; And if the grounds be discovered to be *fallacious*, and the *contrary* to be more *reasonable* to be *believed*, then sure this hath but the advantage of an *Antient error*, and the *older* it is, the fitter not to be longer continued in, it must be immediately *deposited*. And against this, or instead of doing thus, to talke of possession is *unnatural*, and *irrational*, the same plea that may serve for any *sinne* that hath had the *luck* to get the first hold in us, the same that would certainly have held for all the *Idolatrie* of the *Heathens*, when *Christ* came into the world; And he that hath long lived in *obscurity* and *misery* (he, and his *Ancestors*) for many years together, and were now offered an *advancement* out of that *sad* condition, would he ever be so *unkinde* to himselfe as to refuse that *offer*, upon this one *account*, because it is the *turning* him out of a *possession*? This
pre-

prescribing for *Error*, and prescribing for *Sin*, and prescribing for *Misery*, are in effect the same, equally *unnatural* and *irrational*, supposing it to be truly *Error* and *Sinne*, and *Misery* which we treat of.

13. But then secondly waving this, and applying our selves to the *particular* before us, how doth it appeare that the *Romanist* hath been in *possession* in this *believe*, so long as he pretends? He here brings but one *Testimony* to confirme it, that of *Napier*; But for this *testimony* the answer is easie, that the *affirmations* or *confessions* of such as *Napier* was (and is by this *Gentleman* acknowledged to be) in their arguing against the credit of *Antiquity*, or to make good other *hypotheses* of theirs, are of as little *authority* with us, as I suppose they will be with them, when they are *contrary* to their *pretensions* or *interests*; Secondly, that the *Popes* bearing a *sway* over the *Christian world* is not interpretable to signifie his *Universal Pastorship*; The *Bishop* of the *Prime imperial See*, may justly be very *considerable*, and so beare a *sway*, but it follows not thence that his *ordinary jurisdiction* hath been thus extended to the *whole Christian world*.

14. Nay thirdly, the *contrary* to this hath been sufficiently evidenced *Chap: 4. and 5.* both as concernes *Saint Peter* himselfe, and the *Bishop of Rome* as *successor* to *Saint Peter*, and till those evidences are refuted, the *affirmation* of *Napier* being so imperfect and *infirm*, both in respect of the *testifier* and the *matter* of the *testimony*, will be very unfit to bear *sway* with any *rational man*.

15. And so the whole weight of this argument prest with so much *confidence* is resolved into the bare *authority* of the *Speaker*, this *Gentleman*, who saith it, that ever since the *conversion* of the *English Nation*, the *Romanists* have had *possession* of this *believe*, that the *Pope*, as *successor* to *Saint Peter* is *Governour* of the *Universal Church*.

16. And that I may apply some answer yet more *particularly* to this, I shall premise one thing, that if indeed this were granted, which is *suggested*, it would not be of any great force toward the inducing of this *conclusion*, that the *Pope* really was and is *Universal Pastor*. For supposing the *Pope*

to have assumed that *authority*, at the time of *Augustine* the *Monke* his coming into *England* and making his *plantation*, and supposing him to have *preacht* this to *King Ethelbert*, and the rest of his *Profelites*, with the same *gravity* and *confidence*, that he used in imparting all the *Doctrines* of *Christian Faith* (in the same manner as *Xaverius* the *Apostle* of the *Indies* imparted to them *two Gospels*, the one of *Christ*, the other of *Saint Peter*) I shall not doubt but upon these grounds it would be very *consequent*, that all, that willingly *imbraced* the *preaching* of *Augustine*, and had no other *Doctrine* to compare it with, or *examine* it by, should probably receive this branch of *beliefe*, and so all others *from* and *after* them, that insisted firmly and punctually on *Augustine's* way; and thus 'tis possible the *possession* of that *belief* might be *continued* till the *dayes* of *Hen. VIII.*

17. But then this is no *prooffe* that what in this particular *Augustine* affirmed was true, or that the *beliefe* of it had *possession* in the whole *Church* before, Nay, the contrary will be most evident, that at that very time the *British Bishops* acknowledged not any such *power* over them in the *Pope* or any other, as is cited from the *Abbate of Bangor, cap. 16. Sect. 5.* and much more to the same purpose.

18. And 'tis no newes to remind him out of their owne *Canon Law*, that some of their *Popes* have disclaimed (and that not without great *aversion* and *detestation* of the *arrogance* of it) the title of *Universal Bishop* or *Pastor*, and acknowledged it is a very *ominous Symptome* in any that shall assume it, and considering the *prejudices* that lye against it; from the *first œcumenical Councils*, all the *Ordinances* whereof the *Popes* at their *creations* vow to maintaine *inviolably*, and against which to constitute or *innovate* any thing, *ne hujus quidem sedis potest autoritas*, it is not in the power of this *See*, saith *Pope Zosimus, 25. qu. 1. c. Contra.* I may justly conclude that all are obliged to doe the like.

19. But then *secondly*, what *truth* there is in it *in thesi*, that from *S. Augustine's* *plantation* to this time of *Henry VIII.* the *Romanists* have been in *possession* of this *belief* of the *Popes universal Pastorship*, must be contested by evidences. And 1.

For

For *Augustine* himself it appears not by the story in *Bede*, that he did at all preach this doctrine to the nation, nay, as upon *Augustine's* demand concerning ceremonies, *Pope Gregory* binds him not to conform all to the *Canons* or practice of *Rome*, but bids him *freely chouse that which may most please * *Eccl: Hist: God, wheresoever he findes it, sive in Galliarum, sive in qualibet Ecclesiâ, whether in France, or in any other Church, & hæc quasi in Fasciculum collecta apud Anglorum mentes in consuetudinem deponere, make up a Book of such Canons to be observed in England* (which clearly shews that the *Romish Canons* were not to be in power in *England*) so when the difference betwixt him and the *British Bishops* (of whom it hath been shewed that they acknowledged not the *Pope* to have any power over them) came to be composed, he required compliance and obedience from them but in three things, the * observation of *Easter* according to the order of the Church * *Ib: l.2. c.2.* of *Rome* (and the *Nicene Canon*) the *Ministration of Baptisme*, and joyning with him to preach to the *Engliss*; Which is some prejudice to the founding of this belief in *Augustine's* preaching.

20. Nay when *Bede* comes to speak of *Gregory* then *Pope*, by way of *Encomium* at his death, the utmost he saith of him is, that *cum primum in toto orbe gereret Pontificatum, & conversis jamdudum Ecclesiis pralatus esset &c.* being *Bishop* of the *Prime Church* in the whole world, and set over those Churches which had been long since converted, and having now taken care to propagate that faith to *England*, he might justly be called our *Apostle*, and say as *S. Paul* did, that if to others he were not an *Apostle*, yet he was to us.

21. As for that of *Universal Pastorship* certainly we may take *Gregory's* own word, that no such thing was then thought to belong to him, in his *Epistle* to *Eulogius Bishop* of *Alexandria*, visible among his works, and inserted in the * body of their *Canon Law*. *Nam dixi &c.* I told you that you were not to write to me or any other in that style, and behold in the Preface of that *Epistle* directed to me who thus prohibited, you have set this proud appellation, calling me universal *Pope* or *Father*, which I desire you will doe no more, for it is a derogating from you, *Ecce*

* *B. Gre: Ep: ex regist: l.7. Indict: 1. c.30. par: 1. dist: 99.*

you, to bestow on another more than reason requires, I count it not my honour, wherein I know my brethren lose their honour, My honour is the honour of the universal Church, My honour is that my brethren should enjoy what fully belongs to them (so I render *fratrum meorum solidus vigor*) then am I truly honoured when the honour, which is due to all, is denied to none. For if you call me universal Pope, you deny that to your self which you attribute all to me; And farther tells him, with expressions of aversation, *Ab sit and recedant*—, that this honour had by a Council been offered to his Predecessors, the Council of Chalcedon (that gave it equally to him and the Bishop of Constantinople, which is in effect to give to neither the power or sense, but onely the title of it) but no one of them would ever use this title. This sure is evidence enough, that if at that time any such belief of the Universal Pastorship of the Pope entred this Nation, it must needs be the belief of a known acknowledged falsity, and so farre from a *bonæ fidei possessio*.

22. After this, what possession this belief had among us, may be
 * 1. *de diff:* judged by some of those many * instances put together by the
Reg: et Eccl: Bishops in Henry VIII. his daies, as the premises whereon that
Potest: King built his conclusion of ejecting that Power which was
 then usurped by the Pope.
23. First a statute, that for Ecclesiastical appeals they shall in
 the last resort lie from the Archbishop to the King, so as not
 to proceed any farther without the Kings assent.
24. Secondly, that Tuxstan Archbishop elect of Yorke, asking
 leave of the King to go to a Council designed by Calixtus,
 had it granted with this reserve, that he should not receive
Episcopal benediction from the Pope.
25. Thirdly, that the Kings of England from time to time,
 had and exercised authority of making lawes in Ecclesiastical
 matters; Eight such Lawes are there recited of Canutus his
 making, the like of King Ethelred, Edgar, Edmund, Athel-
 stane, Ina King of the West Saxons, and King Alfred.
26. Fourthly, that William the Conquerour instituting and in-
 dowing the Abbey of Battell, gave the Abbat exemption from
 all jurisdiction of any Bishops, *aut quarumlibet personarum do-
 minatione.*

minatione, from all dominion or rule of any persons whatsoever, sicut Ecclesia Christi Cantuariensis, in like manner as the Church of Canterbury; Which imports two things, 1. that the Church of Canterbury had no such Ruler over him (but the King) and 2. that the Abbat of Battell was by regal power invested with the same privileges.

27. But I suppose all these, and many the like instances, which might be brought, derogatory enough to the possession in this belief here pretended, will but adde one more to the number of such arguments, of which this Gentleman saith, that they have forty times had replies made to them; And truly this is a good easie compendious way, which as it secures him against all that can be produced, so it doth not incourage me to spend time in collecting and producing more, and therefore this shall suffice to have added now concerning this matter, being apt to flatter my self, that these arguments are demonstrative and clear enough to men of common sense, to disprove, and so to overthrow this Possession.

Sect. II.

Queen Mary's retaining the Supremacy. Power of refusing Legates, unreconcilable with the Popes Supremacy.

Num. 1. THE next Paragraph is an account of a passage cited by me from the story of Queen Mary, Thus,

2. Queen Mary's titular retaining of the Supremacy untill she could dispose the disordered hearts of her subjects to get it peaceably revoked, is no authority for the Doctor, she never pretending it to be lawfully done, but that she could not doe otherwise, no more is her refusing of a Legate, which in all Catholick times and countries hath been practiced and thought lawfull.
3. What civil or secular motives they were, which kept that Queen so long from rejecting the title of supreme in her own Kingdome, I shall not need to inquire; If it were no unpardonable sin in her to continue the title, and exercise of that power, which was incompatible with the Pope's universal Pastorship, then why should it be so hainous in her Father to

assume it? Her never pretending that it was *lawfully* done, signifies very little, as long as she pretends not the *contrary*, that it was *unlawfull*; The truth may well lie in the *middle*, that she thought it *lawful* to retain it, yet *lawful* also to bestow it on the *Bishop of Rome*, and upon the strength of the former *perswasion*, my *charity* obligeth me to think, that she did the *former*, and in force of the *latter* it is possible also, that she did the *latter*, though *possible* too, that she did it upon reason of *state*, the *validity* of her *mother's marriage*, and consequently her *legitimation* depending upon the acknowledgment of the *Pope's absolute power* in this *Nation*.

4. But the truth is, her *opinion* or *practice* is of no more force one way, than the other, and therefore was taken in as a *supernumerary* observation, and not such as on that alone to found any *grand argument*.
5. As for the *power of refusing* a *Legate* from the *Pope*, I cannot discern how that is reconcileable with the *Popes* pretensions to *supreme power* in this *Kingdome*; Can it be lawfull for any *Province* to refuse a *Procurator*, or *Prator*, or *Proconsul*, sent solemnly commissioned by the *Lawfull Prince*? Was it lawfull for the *tenants* or *dressers* of the *vineyard* to deny entrance to the *King's son* or but *servant*? Is not this a derogation to *supreme power* and *domination*? If this be *practiced* and counted *lawful* in all *Catholick times* and *Countreys*, this is to me an *indication*, that in no *time* or *countrey* there hath been *possession* of this *belief* that the *Pope* is the *supreme Pastor* of all, for sure if he were, his *Legate* which is his image, might in power of the *original* require *admission*, and he that is *πεμπόμενος ἀπ' αὐτοῦ* thus sent and commissioned by him, must by *S. Peter's precept* be allowed obedience from all his *subjects*, and so from that *Queen*, if such she were, and such she *must* be, so farre as he had the *supremacy*.
6. So again when *Cardinal Petou* was sent to be *Bishop of Salisbury*, the denying him that *Bishoprick* was a check to the *Pope's absolute supremacy*, but of that this *Gentleman* was in prudence to take no notice.

Sect. III.

King Edward his Reformation. The Duke of Somerset. The Duke of Northumberland, his Treason no prejudice to the Reformation under that King.

- Num. 1. **H**Is next exception is to the passages concerning King Edward VI. King Henry's immediate successor, Thus,
2. *King Edward a childe of nine years old fell into the hands of wicked and ambitious traytors, who knowing the Kingdome affected for religion sake to Queen Mary, to cut off her succession, and introduce their own, thought fit to strengthen their faction, which beside what they might hope from abroad, consisted of many Lutherans and Calvinists at home: those two sects having by opportunity of that rupture in Henry VIII. his time, spread and nestled themselves in many parts of England.*
 3. What is here said hath little of truth in it, and as little of argument, if it were truth. That the youth of the Prince can be no foundation of argument against the Legality of what was done by the Duke of Somerset his uncle, the Protector, in his nonage, was sufficiently shewed before, and might be exemplified through all times and places. That this Protector should at this time, when the young King legally fell into his hands, be stiled a wicked ambitious Traytor, hath not any degree of truth in it, the crime, for which he afterward lost his life, being farre from any disloyalty to his Sovereign.
 4. As for the Duke of Northumberland, who obtained the King's consent to settle the inheritance on Jane Grey, and accordingly, after the King's death, proclaimed her Queen, and suffered as a traytor for so doing, all that I shall need to say is this, 1. that this act of his, how trayterous soever, cannot justifie what is here said, that the King at nine years old fell into the hands of traytors, for that one Duke cannot truly be called traytors in the plural, and the King at that age did not fall into his hands, but into the hands of Edward Seymour Duke of Somerset, under whom the six Articles and other acts of severity against the Protestants were called in, and the Acts against the Papal authority confirmed, the Romish
- Masse

Masse abrogated, the Bible translated, and published in the English tongue, the Liturgie reformed, and the publick offices performed in English, the sacrament of the Lord's Supper administred in both kindes &c. And so whatsoever was afterward done (were it never so trayterously) by the Duke of Northumberland, could have no influence on this change, and is therefore very impertinently here inserted, after the manner of the Orator, not the historian, to raise passions, inflame dislikes and aversions in the Reader, and not to give him any exact view of the truth of the story.

5. Secondly, that the designe of the Duke of Northumberland not succeeding, but costing him so dear, the losse of his own life and hers, whom he set up to be *Queen*, and the succession regularly descending on *Queen Mary*, there can be no reasonable account given, why this treason of that Duke should here be proposed as the one considerable, it being evident in the story, that all things were composed to the full satisfaction of *Queen Mary*, and just as they should have been, in case that trayterous attempt had never been made by that Duke.
6. To which I might adde, that this treason of his was founded on that very act, which in the next paragraph this Gentleman thinks fit to vouch as authentick, and if it were so, that could be no treason in that Duke, viz: the Act whereby *Mary* as well as *Elizabeth* were adjudged illegitimate, and so incapable of the succession. But these are considerations very extrinsecal and remote from the matter, as it lies here in the contest between us.
7. I shall onely, for conclusion, observe, that if, as he saith, the Kingdome were for Religion's sake affected to *Queen Mary*, it could not certainly be skilfull, or popular, or any way Politick in them that thus desired to strengthen themselves, to introduce this change in Religion. For whatsoever aid they might hope for, either from Lutherans or Calvinists at home or abroad, sure they might have hoped for more by the other way, if it be true what he affirms of the Kingdome indefinitely, that it was affected to *Queen Mary's Religion*. For that other Kingdomes of Europe generally were so at that time, there is small question.

Sect.

Sect. III.

Queen Elizabeth's illegitimacy answered. The unpolitickness of her Councils of Reforming.

Num. I. **N**OW follows his exceptions to that part of the story which concern *Queen Elizabeth*; The first by the by, Thus,

2. *Queen Elizabeth being by Act of Parliament recorded a Bastard, and so pronounced by two Popes, and therefore mistrusting all her Catholick subjects, who she feared did adhere to the Queen of Scots title, in which she was then likely to be supported by the King of France her husband, was by the advice of men partly infected with Calvinisme or Lutheranisme, partly ambitious of making their fortunes, cast upon that desperate counsel of changing religion; desperate I say, for see amongst what a number of rocks she was, in consequence of that Counsel forced to sail, witness her adhering to the rebels of all her neighbour Kings, so provoking them thereby, as if the French King had not been taken out of this world, and winde and weather fought against the Spanis Armado, in all likelihood she had been ruined, especially her Catholick subjects being so provoked as they were, by most cruell and bloody Laws: but this by the by: though from hence the Reader may judge of reason of changing religion in her time, and what a solid foundation the Church of England hath.*

3. That *Queen Elizabeth* was by Act of Parliament recorded a bastard; hath no farther truth in it, than is of force against *Queen Mary* also, The same Act of Parliament affirming the mariages with *Queen Katharine*, and *Anne of Bolen* void, and their children *Mary* and *Elizabeth* illegitimate, and so involving them equally under the same censure.

4. Nay, if there were any force in this (as this Gentleman by mentioning it is obliged to think there is) it must be much more to *Queen Maries* disadvantage, for 'tis certain that upon the birth of *Queen Elizabeth*, 'twas enacted by Parliament, that the marriage with *Katharine* was null, because incestuous, and so this with *Anne* lawfull (which certainly it

R

was,

was, if the former was incestuous and the resolution of the Universities and most learned men, not onely in England, but at Paris, and elsewhere was, that it was of such a nature, as it could not by the Pope's power be dispensed with, being so contrary to the law of God) and by the same act Elizabeth is declared heir of the Kingdome, in case the King should have no heir male, and Oath of Allegiance taken to the King and to his heirs by Anne the mother of Elizabeth. And to conclude, the subsequent act, that decreed the succession, and establisht it first in Edward, then in Mary, then in Elizabeth, by which it was that Mary did actually ascend to the throne, was equally favourable to both of them.

6. And so still if any thing were to be concluded from this Gentleman's proœmial consideration, it still lies more against Queen Mary, than against Queen Elizabeth, if not in respect of the merit of the cause (on which this Gentleman will give me leave to suppose it was, that our stories tell us, that the Pope had given Cardinal Campeius his Legate a private Bull, much in favour of the King's pretensions, but kept it under some restraint till he saw how the Emperour's affairs in Italy would succeed) yet in respect of the several declarations against the one, and but one onely against the other, and that how well founded, is easie to discern, if this were a place for such disputes.

7. But it is not so, much lesse for the other Politick considerations that here follow, whether the counsel of re-excluding the Papacy, and proceeding to a farther Reformation in her Kingdomes, were a desperate Counsel or no, For if to this Gentleman's arguments I shall grant it were so, the conclusion will be onely this, that her action was unskilful in secular considerations, from which it is no way consequent, that it was more than, as Prince, she had power to doe, or impious in the sight of God, or that that, which being built on so feeble a foundation, proved yet competently successfull, is by this means conclusible to have been unlawful and null, for in that alone can be founded the truth of the suggestion here, that we that adhere to her Reformation, must be adjudged schismatics.

Sect. IV.

The Ordination of Bishops in Queen Elizabeths time. Mr. Masons Record. Introducing of Turcisme.

Num. I. **W**Hat remains on this head of *Queen Elizabeth*, as the narration after this long *Proeme*, the *ἔπειτα* after an acknowledged (yet at large) *ἡδιστα*, will be soone dispatch't; It is thus,

2. How far Master Mason can justify the ordination of *Queen Elizabeths Bishops*, I will not now examine; but certaine it is, that the Record (if there be such an one) hath a great prejudice of being forged, since it lay some fifty years unknowne amongst the *Clamors* against the flagrant act, and no permission given to *Catholikes* to examine the ingenuity of it, but howsoever it is nothing to our purpose, for whatsoever material mission they had by an external consecration, those Bishops, who are said to have consecrated them, are not so much as pretended to have given them order to preach the *Dectrine*, or exercise the Religion they after did, which is the true meaning and effect of mission. I cannot end without noting in his 24. Parag: the foundation upon what he himselfe saies his whole designe relies; which is, that because the reccession from the *Roman Church* was done by those, by whom, and to whom onely the power of right belonged legally, viz the *King and Bishops of this Nation*, therefore it is no *Schisme*, that is, whatsoever the reason of dividing hath been, even to turne *Turkes*, or for violating never so fundamental points of Religion, yet it had not been *Schisme*.

3. What *Mr. Masons Records* are, and of how good and unquestionable authority, I leave to the view of his *Book*, which sets downe all so particularly, and irrefragably, that nothing can be more contrary to the *Gentlemans* interests, than the most strict examination of that whole matter, in order to the vindicating and justifying this truth, that the succession of *Bishops*, and order *Ecclesiastical* hath been regularly preserved in our *Church*, at that time, when alone the *Romanist* accuseth us for the interruption of it, i. e. in *Queen Elizabeths reformation*. (To which head of discourse it is not amisse to

adde the resolution of Cudseminius the Jesuite, de desper: Calvini causâ, cap. 11. that the English Nation are not Hereticks, because they remain in a perpetual succession of Bishops.)

4. Which being the onely thing that in that Sect. 16. I purposed to conclude from Mr. Masons worke, and the Records by him produced, it lyes not on me to prove that they which ordained those Queen Elizabeth-Bishops, gave them order to preach the Doctrine they after did, or to examine the truth of his suggestion, that this is the true meaning and effect of Mission. It may suffice that they which consecrated them, gave them the same power which themselves derived by succession from the Apostles, and that was sufficient to authorize them to preach all Apostolical doctrine, and if they preacht any other, let it appeare, and I shall never justifie their preaching. But that is not attempted here, and therefore I have herein no farther matter, that exacts reply from me.
5. For as to his parting blow, which he cannot omit, in reply to Sect 20. certainly it hath little impression on my discourse in that place, which doth not inquire what is unlawful or criminous Universally, for then sure I should have acknowledged that the bringing in Turcisme, or violating fundamental points of Religion had been such, but peculiarly and precisely this, what is Schisme, in that one notion of Schisme, as that is a voluntary separation from our Ecclesiastical Superiours; of which that we are not, or cannot be guilty, when we act in perfect concord, compliance and subordination to all those to whom the right of superiority legally belonged, is I suppose, so manifest, that it can need no farther proof.
6. As for any such act of lawful Superiours in bringing in Turcisme, or violating fundamental points, I should not be apt to stile that Schisme (any more than I would call perjury, lying, or incest, simple fornication) it being in the first part of the instance, Apostasie and total defection from Christ, which I hope is a little more than denying the Popes Universal Pastorship, or Infallibility of the Church (in which consists his grand species of Schisme) and in the second, Heresie, and the grossest sort of Schisme together, that of departing from the

the *unity* of the *Faith*, which being by me *Chap. 8.* distinctly handled, as a second *species* of *schisme*, all that I need here say to this *Gentleman's* exception, is, that I indevoured to speak as *distinctly*, and not as *confusedly* as I could, and therefore did not mix things that were *distant*, and therefore did not speak of that second *kinde* of *schisme* at the same time when I proposed to speak of the *first* onely, and upon this account onely said nothing to it in that *Chapter*. And I hope this was but my duty to doe, agreeably to all rules of *method*, and so that he might very well have spared that *animadversion* which he saith he could *not end without noting*.



CHAP. VIII.

An Answer to the Exceptions made to the eighth Chapter.

SECT. I.

The Division of Schisme. An Answer to many Questions about Schism, A retortion.

Num. I.

IN proceeding to the view of Chap. 8. this Gentleman without any cause is pleased to change the division of the second sort of schisme there handled, into another, which it seems was more sutable to his understanding, and then to make two light skirmishes against the discourse of that Chapter. He begins thus,

2.

In his 8th Chapter, as farre as I understand, he divideth Schisme into formal, that is, breach of unity; and material, that is, breach of Doctrine or Customes, in which the Church was united: the former he brancheth into subordination to the Pope, of which enough hath been said; and breach of the way provided by Christ for maintaining the unity of faith, the which he puts in many subordinations without any effect, For let us ask, if inferior Clergie-men dissent from their own Bishops, but not from their Metropolitan; in matter of faith, is it Schisme? he will answer, No: If a Metropolitan dissent from his Primate, but agree with the rest of the Patriarchs, is it schisme? I think he must say, No: If a Patriarch dissent from the first, but agree with the rest, is it schisme? No: If a Nation or a Bishop dissent from the rest of the General Councel, is it schism? still I believe he will answer, No: Where then is schisme provided against? or where truly is there any subordination in Faith? if none of these are subject, and bound to their Superiors or Universals in matters of faith?

SECT. 4.

SECT. 5.

[What

3. What my *division* there is, will be obvious enough to any man's *understanding*. In the third Chap: the *foundation* had been laid in the *opposition* betwixt *Schisme* and *Ecclesiastical Unity*, and as the *unity* was the *conserving* all due *relations*, whether of *subordination*, or *equality*, wherein each member of *Christ's Church* is concerned one toward another, so there were two *prime* branches of *schisme*, the one against the *subordination* which *Christ* settled in his *Church*, the second against the *mutual charity*, which he left as his *Legacy* among *Christians*. And the former of these being discussed at large in order to the *present* debate, in the 8. Chapter, the method led me to the latter of them, to consider *Schisme*, as it is an *offence* against the *mutual unity*, *Peace*, and *Charity*, which *Christ* left, and prescribed among *Christians*; And that I might be sure not to *streighten* the bounds of this sort of *Schism*, or omit any thing, that can, by any rule of *discourse*, be placed in the *borders* or *confines* of it, by the means either to lay *charge* on us, or render our *Vindication* the clearer, I distributed it into as many parts, as in my opinion the matter could by any be thought to beare, *i. e.* into *three species*,
1. A *breach* in the *Doctrines* or *Traditions* (together with the *institutions* of *Christ*, his *Apostles*, and the *Primitive Church*, whether in *government*, or *observances*.)
 2. An *offence* against *external peace* or *communion Ecclesiastical*.
 3. The *want* of that *Charity* which is due from every *Christian* to every *Christian*.

The first of these againe subdivided and considered, 1. in the *grosse*, as it is a *departing* from the *rules* appointed by *Christ* for the *founding* and *upholding* *unity* of *Doctrine*, &c. 2. in *particular*, the asserting of any *particular doctrine*, contrary to *Christ's* and the *Apostolical* pure *Churches* establishment.

4. The *Scheme* being thus laid as *regular*, and as *comprehensive*, as I could devise. 1. here is not one word said to expresse any cause of *dislike* or *exception* to it; and yet 2. it is quite laid aside, and another of *formal* and *material Schisme*, &c. substituted instead of it, upon what *temptation* or *designe*, save

have onely a *willingnesse* to gaine somewhat by the *shuffe* and *confusion*, more than the *distinctnesse* of *discourse* could yeild him, I cannot divine.

5. As it is, I yet discern not the *particular advantages* he had in his *intuition*, but suppose them *latent* and *reserved*; For to his special *discovery* that he means to make by *asking* (and supposing answers to) many *questions* proportionable to the several links in the *subordination*, the account will be easie enough, that as long as any *particular Bishop* remains in the due *subordination* to his *Canonical superiors*, so long the departure of any *clergie* man that is under his *jurisdiction*, from that *obedience* which *Canonically* he owes him, is in him that is thus guilty of it, an act of *schisme*.
6. But then 1. when instead of *departure* he puts *dissent* (which may belong to *light* matters, wherein liberty of *dissent* from *Superiors*, is yeilded to all men, or to greater matters, without departing from *obedience* or *Communion*) this is not fairly done, this difference having a visible influence on the matter.
7. Secondly, when of the *inferiour clergie-man's dissent* from his own *Bishop*, he makes me answer that it is not *schisme*, if it be not from his *Metropolitan*, I never gave him my letter of *Proxie* to doe so: But on the other side, if the *dissent* be supposed to be improved into a *departure* (which alone makes *schisme*) I shall not doubt to pronounce it *schisme*, unlesse he have first made his *appeal* from his *Bishop* to his *Metropolitan*, and by him and his *Council of Bishops* be adjudged to be in the *right*, and then if his *Bishop* by that *judgment* be reduced to order, he may not, he cannot again without *schisme* depart from him.
8. Thirdly, when from *Primates* he ascends to *Patriarchs*, as if that *latter* had a *power superiour* to the *former*, and again from the *Patriarchs* to the *first Patriarch*, i. e. the *Bishop of Rome*, this he knows hath no place with us, who acknowledge no power of any *Patriarch* above a *Primate*, no *supremacie* over all in the *Bishop of Rome*, but yet allow them and him (proportionably to the *Πρωτὸς Σίμων*, if that will content him) that *Primacie* of order, which by the *antient Canons*, is allowed them.

Fourthly,

9. Fourthly, whatsoever concerning these several steps from the lowest Clergie-man to the first of Patriarchs, he phantasies to be answered by us; and from thence concludes, that then *schism* is no way provided against, is visibly much more true of any Romanist; For certainly if he dissent not from the Bishop of Rome, it must be no *schisme*, in him though he dissent from his own Bishop, his own Archbishop, Primate, and Patriarch, and if he doe dissent from him, 'tis not his consenting with all his inferior Governors, that will stand him in stead for his vindication.
10. And therefore if what he hath formed against me by his making answer himself to his own questions, be found really to conclude (as he saith it doth) against all *subordination*, 'tis now evident, who is most blameable for it, he doubtlesse, that hath divolved all into the *Monarchike supremacy* of the Pope, and permits us not to consider, what any other our immediate superiors require of us.
11. Lastly, what he puts into my mouth by way of answer, concerning *subordination* to a General Council, that if a nation or Bishop dissent from the rest of a General Council, still it is not *schisme*, unlesse, as I said, there be deceit in substituting the word *Dissent*, for *Departure* or *Recession*, I shall no way acknowledge the answer which he believes I will make; For certainly I acknowledge, as much as he, or any man, the authority of a General Council against the dissents of a nation, much more of a particular Bishop. And these were misadventures enough to be noted in one Paragraph.

Sect. II.

The sufficiency of the few heads resolved on by the Apostles. The notion of Fundamentals. The Canon of Ephesus concerning it. The definition of the Council of Florence. Many Churches have not betrayed this trust. Christian practice to be super-added. The few things preserved by Tradition.

Num. I. **N**EXT he proceeds to another part of the discourse of that Chapter, concerning the heads resolved on by the Apostles,

postles, in order to planting Christian life, and to that he thus offers his exceptions.

2. But, saith the Doctor, the Apostles resolved upon some few heads of special force and efficacy to the planting of Christian life through the world, and preaching and depositing them in every Church of their plantation. Truly I doe not know what a Catholick professeth more, so that by the word few, he meaneth enough to forme a Religion, and Christian life, and will shew us a Church which hath not betrayed the trust deposited; for if there be none, what availeth this depositing? if there be any, cleave it is that it preserved it by Tradition; if there be a question whether it hath or no, againe I demand to what purpose was the depositing, so that if the Doctor would speak aloud, I doubt he would be subject to as much jealousie, as he saith Grotius was.

3. That what I affirme, as he confesseth conformably, to the Catholikes profession, may be as full and explicite as he can desire, I doubt not to expresse my meaning to be, that the few heads, that the Apostles resolved on, were sufficient both for number and efficacy, or in * Athanasius his language, ἀντὶ πάντων καὶ ἀναλεγκτῶν πάντων ἀσεβείας, ὁσάσιν δε εὐσεβείας ἐν Χριστῷ, sufficient for the averting all impiety, and establishment of all piety in Christ; And for his satisfaction therein, I referre him to the Treatise of Fundamentals, printed since that of Schisme, of which the onely designe was to insist on this, as the grand notion of Fundamentals, such as were by the Apostles and Christ himselfe, deemed most proper and effectual to plant Christian life in a world of Jewes, and Gentiles, and briefly to set downe and enumerate all those that the Apostles thought thus necessary.

* Epist. ad
Epict.

4. To which I shall now adde one observation, that this sufficiency of the foundation by them laid and somewhat explained (on occasion of Heretical opposers) by the Council of Nice, &c. was such, that the Ephesine Council following that of Nice, 106. yeares, made a decree, ἐτέραν τίςιν μὴδεὶ ἐξ-
εἶναι προέχειν ἢ γὰρ συντάξαι, ἢ συνιδέναι παρὰ τὸν θεοῦ πατέρα, &c. that it should not be lawfull for any man to produce, write, or compose any beliefe beside that which was established by the Fathers

Fathers at Nice, and that they which should dare to compose or offer any such to any that would from Gentilisme, Judaisme, or whatever Hereſie convert to the acknowledgement of the truth, if they were Bishops, should be depofed from their Bifhopricks, if Laymen, anathematized, &c. Can. 7.

5. And this authority being preſt by the Greeks to the Latines, in the Council of * Florence, and that with this ſmart expreſſion, ἵδεις ἐγκαλέσει ἀτίλειαν πίστεως, εἰ μὴ τις ἐν μαθημασι, * Sess. 10.
No man will accuſe the Faith (that which thoſe Fathers had profeſt) or charge it of imperfektion, unleſſe he be mad, Concil. l. 7. p. 642. A. The Latines answer is but this, that that Canon did not forbid, ἐτέραν ἔκδεσιν σύμφωνον τῇ ἀληθείᾳ ἐν τῇ πίστει, another explication agreeable to the truth contained in that Crede, acknowledging that it did forbid διαφορὰν καὶ ἐναντιό-την, difference as well as contrariety (pag. 644. b) and even for ſuch a bare explication they counted not that lawfull for any but the Fathers convened in O Ecumenical Synods, citing it from Aquinas, 2a. 2a. qn: 1: ar. 10. and adding that he ſpake, πρὸς ἐτινοσὺν συμβόλου. ὅτις μὴ κοινὸν τῆς ἐκκλησίας, of any Creed whatſoever which was common to the whole Ib. p. 641. D. Church.
6. And accordingly there followes out of the Epistle of Celeſtine to Neſtorius, ἡ πίστις ἡ παρὰ θεοῦ παρὰ τῶν Ἀποστόλων, ἕτε περὶ ἧν ἕτε μείωσιν ἀπαυλῆ, The beleeſe delivered by the Ib. p. 644. D. Apoſtles requires neither addition nor diminution.
7. In all which, how they are concerned, who impoſe ſo many new articles of beleeſe upon their owne Churches, and upon all that deſire Communion with them, I leave to each Romaniſt to conſider, and ſhall onely adde the words of the Catechiſm taken out of the workes of Coſternus, Petrus de Soto, and others, and ſet out by command of the Archbiſhop of Triers, reſp. ad 2. qn. Neque ulla unquam ex titit hereſis, quæ non hoc ſymbolo damnari potuerit, There was never any Hereſie which might not be condemned by the Apoſtles Creed. It were well we might be allowed the benefit of this tryal.
8. And now having given this pledge of my readineſſe to answer his queſtions, though I diſcern not any obligation, ariſing from my former diſcourſe, to lye upon me, yet I ſhall not be

so nice or sparing of my paines, as to deny him a clear account also of his subsequent demands, but shall speak as loud as he would wish, and tell him first to the first demand, that as to those few heads I spoke of, I can, blessed be God, shew him Churches enough, which have not betrayed the trust deposited; The Church of England, even now, under the saddest persecution, hath not been tempted to betray that trust, the Church of Rome, through all the Prosperity and Splendor, and Grandeur, which it hath long enjoyed, and which, the Historian tells us, *acrioribus stimulis animum explorant*, hath as yet held out thus farre: I meane hath retainnd those few heads, and in that respect is not accused by us to have betrayed that trust (I wish it were as blamelesse in all things else, particularly in that wherein our present debate is most concerned, in imposing new Articles of Faith on all Christians, and her own infallibility for the first of them.)

9. The same I can as freely affirm of all other National Churches, that I know of, confining my discourse still to the small (yet in the Apostles opinions sufficient) number of heads of special force to the planting of Christian life through the world.

10. And so as this Gentleman is much disappointed in his expectation, that I should not be able to name any Church that hath not betrayed the trust deposited, so I must professe to him, I think it as reasonable, that they that agree in believing and conserving those few pretious heads of truth, designed to so glorious an end, as is the peopling a world with a peculiar colonie of inhabitants, all uniformly zealous of good workes, should all joyne hands and hearts, to adde that superstructure to the foundation, pure, immaculate, Elevated, Heroical, i.e. Christian practice, to the untainted believe of these few things.

11. And then how much blame (by force of that Canon of Ephesus) most justly belongs unto them that make it their great interest to quarrel, divide from, and anathematize, all others, who cannot believe all other things which they chance to believe; though they know they agree with them in all that the Apostles thus thought necessary to be agreed in; & indeed how contrary this is, and destructive to this superstructure, of which Charity in one principall ingredient, and so to the designe of lay-

laying the *foundation*, though not to the *foundation* it selfe, I shall leave this *Gentleman* and every sober *Christian* to consider, and if he judge not as I doe, yet I shall not ~~exaggerate~~ number it among the *prodigies* of the *age*, or indeed thinke *stranger* of it, than I have long done of the great *distance* betwixt *Reason* and *Passion* in the same sort of creatures, *Man*, and (*God* knowes too oft) in the same *Individual* creature, the same *Man* and *Christian*.

12. Having gone thus farre in ready obedience to this *Gentlemans* lightest intimation of his pleasure, in *satisfaction* to his first demand, I shall in the same humour proceed without all reserve to the next, doubting as little as he, but that these few things (all *justice* must allow our discourse to be *coherent*, and so to adhere to the same *subject* with which we began) have been preserved in each *Church* by *Tradition*, and then to the third, that there is no place of *doubt* concerning the *fact*, and so of *question*, whether they have or no, and if by thus *speaking aloud* to every of his demands, I render my selfe *subject* to as much *jealousie* as I say *Grotius* was, I shall not accuse him as my *tempter*, but onely support and *comfort* my self, that I have retained as much *innocence* as I alwaies thought *Grotius* had done, and by declaring my meaning thus *clearly*, and *professing* that I mean no whit more than I say, I see no place for *jealousie* remaining to any.
13. If to *believe* the *Apostles Creed* to be conveyed down to us by *tradition* in every *national Church* from the *Apostles* time to this, be any *heresie*, I am visibly guilty of it, and need not have my words put upon the *rack* (as *Grotius's* have been) to *extort* a more *explicite confession* from them.

SECT. III.

Submission without opinion of infallibility. The appeal to the Fathers of the first 300 years, and the four General Councils, to what it belongs. The silence of the first times no advantage to the Romanist. Two Questions of Additaments to Faith; The way of debating each of them.

Num. I.

HIS last exception to this Chapter is to our profession of *humility and temper*, which it seems those of our religion must not be permitted to assume to themselves (and which I was no farther so insolent to assume, than as it is observable in the peculiarity of the frame of the Church of England's Reformation) Thus,

2. I cannot but admire indeed the great temper he professeth men of his religion have, in choosing of Doctrines, to wit, their submission to the three first Ages, and the four first Councils, but I confesse it is a humility I understand not, first to professe, they know not whether their teachers say true or no (that is, that they are fallible) and then to hold under pain of damnation what they say. Another piece of their humility is in submitting to ages, where very few witnesses can be found, in regard of the rarity of the Authors and the little occasion they had to speak of present controversies. A third note of humility is, that whereas the fourth Council was held about the midst of the fifth Age, these lovers of truth will stand to it, but not to the fourth Age precedent, or that very Age in which it was held, so humble they are to submit to any authority, that toucheth not the questions in present controversie, but where doe they finde Christ's Church shall be judge in three Ages, and fail in the fourth, or that the Councils in the fifth Age shall be found, but not the Fathers.
3. It is very hard, it seems, to please this Gentleman. Our humility is one while by him censured as really too great, another while the want of it is our crime, and we equally to be scoffed at on both accounts.
4. It is a criminous excesse of humility forsooth, to submit to those, of whom we first professe not to know that they are

in-

infallible. But as long as we doe verily believe they doe actually affirm truth, why may we not submit to them, though we know not that they are *infallible* ? For certainly I may submit to my *natural*, or *civil parent* in this manner, obey him in all his *commands* (supposing, as now I doe, that none of his *commands* are by me apprehended to be *unlawful*, as none of these *Councils definitions*, as by us believed to be, contrary to the Word and Will of God) though yet I neither account him *inerrable* nor *impeccable*. But of this I have spoken already Chap. I. Sect. 3.

5. What he adds of *holding under pain of damnation what they say*, is in this place an *insertion* of this Gentleman's, no word being said of it in that *section*, to which his words are confronted, and having elsewhere spoken to that, I abstain from adding more at this time.
6. In the next place it seems our *humility* is too scanty, for when I have submitted to be judged by the *scriptures*, the consent of the first 300 years, or the four *General Councils*, whether we have departed from the *Apostolical doctrines* or *traditions*, this, saith he, is submitting to *Ages* where very few witnesses can be found &c. But I desire it may be remembered, what there I speak of, (for perhaps this Gentleman's haste hath not permitted him to advert to it) the *contesting* or *innocence* in this, that we of the Church of England have not departed from the *Apostolick doctrine* and *traditions*; And for this whether could the *appeal* more properly be directed, than to the *scriptures*, the *Conservatorie* of the *Apostles written doctrine*, and the three first *Centuries*, the *conservatorie* of their *traditions*, It being unimaginable that any thing should be so *per saltum* conveyed to us from the *Apostles*, as to leap over those three *Centuries* next to them, without leaving any footstep discernible among them.
7. For let the witnesses of those times, the *authors* that remain to us be never so few, yet unlesse by some of their hands we be directed what the *Apostles* delivered to them, how can we know what was delivered? It being all one in this respect not to be, as not to appear, *Tradition*, even *Apostolical*, being no more than an empty name, unlesse we suppose our selves able

able to *avouch* some competent *testifiers* of the *Tradition*.

8. And if to these two, I have added the *four General Councils*, because they were held against the great *disturbers* of the *unity* of the *Faith*, and they maintained the *true faith* by these *two special weapons*, the *Scriptures* and *Tradition*, testified by the *first Writers*, and our *Church* hath taken in their *Creeds* into our *Liturgies*, and their *definitions* into our *Articles* of religion, and so I have by that *appeal* so farre testified our *non-departure* from the *Faith*, I hope there is no *offence* in this, no degree of *defect* in our *humility*.

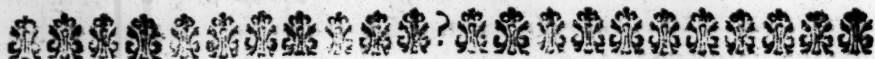
9. As for the *little occasion* these *first* had to *speak* of the *present controversies*, that sure cannot be *objected* against our *procedure* (any more than the *paucity* of the *Authors* could) for if the *Romanist* doe but grant this one thing, it will be found a *real prejudice* to his *pretensions*, if (which was, the point in hand) the *question* be, whether the *Church of England* have *departed* from the *unity* of the *Apostolick Faith*, denied any *Apostolick Doctrine* or *Tradition*.

10. For in this *Controversie* how shall it be proved, that we have *departed*, unlesse that *Doctrine* or *Tradition* being specified what it is, it be evidenced also, that it was *delivered* by the *Apostles*, and how can that be evidenced, but by those which within some competent distance of their time, affirm that from them, and how can they be pretended to *affirm* that, if it be granted of them that they had no *occasion* to *speak* of it, and so are utterly *silent* in it.

11. To his last note of *humility* i. e. the next expression of his *scoptical* humor, there can be no need of applying any answer, it being no where intimated in that *Treatise* that we are not ready to stand to the *fourth Age*, or that wherein the *fourth Council* was held; All that was said, was, that the three *first Ages*, and the *four General Councils* were *competent* witnesses of the *Apostolical doctrines* and *traditions*, and I desire any man to name any other that were more *competent* to this purpose, i. e. to *testifie* what the *Apostles* taught, It being certain that whosoever doth (not by *inspiration*) tell us any thing of that kinde, must assume to tell it from them, and as *evident* that all those things (that even now were

were spoken of) which the *Apostles* resolved on, as heads of special force to form religion and *Christian* life, were by this means conveyed to us.

12. Mean while other matters there are, which we look on as additaments to the doctrines of Faith, and so are the subject of a double question, 1. whether they be parts of that faith which was once, or at once delivered to the saints, 2. whether not appearing to be so, there be any other just reason to believe, though but by an humane Faith, that they have any truth in them.
13. Now of these two questions, as the resolution of the former depends upon those Ages, which alone can convey Tradition to the succeeding, and so still for that we referre our selves to the former Umpirage, so of the second, I did not then, because I had not occasion to speak in that place.
14. And if my answer be required now, I shall readily give it, that in matters of this nature the Opinions of the Fathers of the Church in the most flourishing Ages of it, wherein their writings are most voluminous, and their Learning in Theologie most venerable, are with us of great weight and consideration; we doe (and shall upon all occasions demonstrate our selves to) allow them as full an authority, pay as great and true a reverence to their judgments, indeavour as uniformly to conform our selves to the declarations of their sense, as any sober Romanists are by us discerned to doe, or as it can be their interest to doe, in respect of the controversies that lie between us. And so still I discern not, wherein our humility can be judged to fail by those, with whom I now dispute, being content that it should by others be judged excessive.



C H A P. IX.

An Answer to the Exceptions made to the ninth Chapter.

Sect. I.

The hinderances of Communion imputable to the Romanist, not to us. Siquis Ecclesiam non audierit, one of our grounds. What is meant by Ecclesia.

Num. I.

THE Exceptions to this Chapter are not very great, whether we respect their weight or number, yet upon the same account that the former have been our exercise, these may for a while detain us also.

2. In his 9th Chap: saith he, he pretendeth the Roman Catholic Church is cause of this division, because they desire communion, and cannot be admitted, but under the belief and practice of things contrary to their consciences, of which two propositions, if the second be not proved, the first is vain, and is as if a subject should plead he is unjustly outlawed, because he doth not desire it: Now to prove the latter, he assumeth that the Protestant is ready to contest his Negatives, by grounds that all good Christians ought to be concluded by, what he means by that, I know not, for that they will convince their Negatives by any ground, a good Christian ought to be concluded by, I see nothing lesse.

What then will they contest it by? all grounds a good orthodox Christian ought to be concluded by? If they answer in the Affirmative, we shall ask them whether siquis Ecclesiam non audierit be one of their grounds, and if they say no, we shall clearly disprove their Major, but then their defence is, if any ground, or rule of it self firm and good, speaketh nothing clearly of a point in question, they will contest that point by those grounds, and is not this a goodly excuse?

The

3. The designe of Chap: 9. of the *Treatise of Schisme*, is to vindicate us from all guilt of *schisme*, as that signifies offence against *external peace* and *communion Ecclesiastical*, and it being certain that we exclude none from our *Communion*, that acknowledge the *foundation*, and that we desire to be admitted to the like *freedome* of *external communion*, with all members of all other *Christian Churches*, the result is visible, that the hinderances, that obstruct this *freedome*, are wholly imputable to the *Romanist*, such are their *excommunicating* us, and imposing *conditions* on their *communion*, such as we cannot admit of without *sin*, or *scandal*, acting contrary to *conscience*, or making an *unsound confession*.
4. To this all that is answered is, that unlesse this second be proved, viz: that such *conditions* are by them imposed on their *communion*, the first, that of our desire of *Communion*, is *vain*; And to this I make no doubt to yeild, for if we may with a *good conscience* be admitted to their *Communion*, and yet wilfully withdraw our selves from it, then I confesse there is no place for this plea of ours; But for the *contesting* of this, there was not then, neither will there, now be any place, without *descending* to the *severals* in *difference* between us (which was beyond the designe either of those, or these *Papers*) and therefore for that all that can be said is, that we are ready to maintain our *Negatives*, by *grounds* that all *good Christians* ought to be concluded by; And because it is here askt, whether *siquis Ecclesiam non audierit* be one of those *grounds*, I answer without *question* it is, and so is every other *affirmation* of *Christ*, or the *Apostles*, however made known to us to be such. And I cannot sufficiently admire, why, when it is known to all *Romanists*, that we are ready to be judged by *Scripture*, and when it is certain that *siquis Ecclesiam non audierit* are the words of *scripture*, he should suppose (as here he doth) that we will say, *No*: i. e. that we will *refuse* to be tried or concluded by that.
5. Here I must suppose that by *Ecclesiam* he understands the *Roman* (which he calls *Catholick*) *Church*; but then this interpretation or understanding of his, is one thing, and those words of *Christ* are another, for they belonging to the

Church indefinitely, under which any man, that hath offended, is regularly placed, doe to a member of the particular *Roman Church* signifie that, as to an *English man* the *Church* wherein he lives, and that, is not the *Roman*, or the *Universal Church* of *God*, and that is more than the *Roman*.

6. And so by acknowledging that ground of *scripture*, we are no way obliged to believe all that that particular *Church* of *Rome*, to which we owe no obedience (and are as ready to contest that by the same means also) exacts of us.
7. As for our contesting any point by that ground or rule which speaketh nothing clearly of it, I gave him no occasion to make any such objection against us, and withall have said what was sufficient to it *Chap.8. Sect.3. n. 7.* and so need not here farther attend to it.



CHAP. X.

*An Answer to the Exceptions made to the tenth
Chapter.*

SECT. I.

The Romanists want of charity wherein it consists.

Num. 1. **I**N his view of Chap: 10. he takes notice of two charges by us brought in against them, 1. *judging*, 2. *despising* their brethren, but contents himself with a very brief reply, and that onely to one of them, Thus,

2. In his 10^b Chap: he saith, *we judge them and despise them: as to the first I have often wondred, and doe now, that men, pretending to learning and reason, should therein charge us with want of charity, for if our judgment be false, it is error, not malice, and whether true or false, we presse it upon them out of love and kindnesse, to keep them from the harm, that according to our belief may come upon them, but since they deny they are Schismaticks, and offer to prove it, we must not say it: yet I think we ought, untill we have cause to believe them, since our highest tribunal, the Churches voice, from which we have no appeal, hath passed judgment against them.*

3. The want of charity, with which we charge the Romanist in this matter, is not their warning us of our danger, which may reasonably be interpreted love, and kindness, and care to keep us from harm, and if they erre in admonishing, when there is no need of it, there is nothing still but charity in this; but it is their casting us out of their Communion on this score, that we consent not to all their Dictates, that we withdraw our obedience from those, who without right usurped it over us, their anathematizing and damning us, and being no way perswadable to withdraw these sanguinary Censures, unlesse we will change or dissemble our beliefs, and as there cannot

be *charity* in this, any thing that can tend to the *mending* of any, for how can it be deemed any *act* of *reformation* in any, to forsake his present *persuasions*, whilst he is not convinced of any *error* in them, and surely the bare *damning* of us is not any such matter of *conviction*; so there is a double *uncharitableness*, 1. of being *angry* without *cause*, and expressing that *anger* in very *ill language*, of which that of *Heretick* and *Schismatick* is the mildest, and each of those *cause* too, if they be affix to any *particular man*, much more to a *whole Church*, before either of them be sufficiently *proved* against us: For certainly as the *Romanist's judgment* concerning us, if it be *false*, may yet be but *error* not *malice* (by which this *Gentleman* here justifies himself from want of *charity*) so our *opinions* and *persuasions* of the *erroneousness* of their *doctrines* and *sinfulness* of their *practices*, if possibly they be not *true* also, are still as *justly* and *equitably* capable of the same *excuse*, that they are *involuntary errors*, and then by their own *rule*, cannot justly fall under such their *rigid censures*, which belong to none but *voluntary offenders*.

4. Secondly, the *indeavouring* to *in snare* and *pervert* *fearful* or *feeble minds*, using these *terrors*, as the *Lion* doth his *roaring*, to *intimidate* the *prey*, and make it not *rationaly* but *astonishtly*, *fall down* before them. And as the offering due *grounds of conviction* to him that is in *error* may justly be deemed *charity*, so this tender of nothing but *frights*, without offer of such *grounds of conviction*, is but leading men into *temptation* to *sin* against *conscience*, to *disimulation* &c. and so the *hating the brother in the heart*, *Lev. 19.* the more than *suffering sin* upon him.

5. To these might be, not unseasonably, added a farther *consideration*, which hath carried *weight* with the *Fathers* of the *Church* in all times, that seeing the *Censures* of the *Church* were left there, *πρὸς οἰκοδομὴν ἢ πρὸς καθάρσιν*, for *edification* not for *destruction*, and are onely designed to *charitative* ends, (must never be used to any other purpose) therefore when *obedience* it utterly *cast off*, the band, be it of *subordination* or *co-ordination* so broken, that the issuing out of *Censures* cannot expect to *compose*, but onely to *widen the breach*,
not

not to *mollifie* but *exasperate*, there *Christian* prudence is to endeavour by *milder* waies, what *severity* is not likely to effect, and so the *thunderbolts* to be laid up, till there may be some probability of *doing good* by them.

6. But this is not the case, as it really lies betwixt *Rome* and us, save onely as *a majori* it may be *accommodated* to us; we have cast off neither *obedience* to any, to whom it was *due*, nor *charity* to those, who have least to us, nor *truth*, to the utmost of our *understandings*, and yet we must be cast out and *anathematized*, and after all that, *condemned* as wilful *schismatics*, i. e. *dividers* and *condemners* of *our selves*, because we quietly submit to that fate, which will cost us too dear, the *wounding* and *disquiet* of our *conscience*, to qualifie our selves for a *capacity* of getting out of it.

7. What he adds of their *highest tribunal*, the *Churches voice*, which hath passed this *judgment* against us, belongs I suppose to those *Bishops* of *Rome*, which have sent out their *Bulls* against us, and therefore I must in reason adde, that those are principally guilty of this *schisme*, and so their *successors* principally obliged to *retract* and *reform* the *sin* of it, and after them, all others in the *order* and *measure*, that they have partaken in this *guilt* with them.

8. And there can be no greater *charity* than to beseech all in the *bowels* of *Christ* to return to the *practice* of that *charity*, which hath too long been exiled from among *Christian* Professors.



CHAP. XI.

An Answer to the Exceptions made to the last Chapter.

SECT. I.

Of the present state of the Church of England. The Catholicks promise for eternity to his Church. Roma æterna. Particular Churches perishable. Mr. Hooker's prediction of the Church The power of the secular Magistrate to remove Bishops Sees, not to make Bishops. The Council of Florence concerning the Popes supremacy &c. Marcus's opinion of it. Joseph: Methonens: his answer briefly examined.

Num. 1. **T**HE last part of this Gentleman's indeavour is to perswade men that the Church of England is not onely persecuted but destroyed, and of that he means to make his advantage to fetch in Proselytes, being out of his great charity very sensible of their estate, unwilling they should sit any longer in the vault or charnel house to communicate with shades, when they are invited to a fairer sunshine, in a vital and very flourishing society. Thus then he begins his reply to the 11th Chapter,

2. *In the last Chapter he complaineth of the Catholicks for reproaching them with the losse of their Church, and arguing with their disciples in this sort ; Communion in some Church, even externally, is necessary, but you cannot now communicate with your late Church, for that hath no subsistence, therefore you ought to return to the Church from whence you went out ; truly in this case I think they ought to pardon the Catholick, who hath, or undoubtedly is perswaded he hath a promise for eternity to his Church, and experience in the execution of that promise for 16 Ages, in which none other can compare with him, and sees another Church judged by one of the learnedst and most prudent persons*

Hooker's
Eccl: Pol:

persons confessedly that ever was among them, to be a building likely to last but 80 years, and to be now torn up by the roots, and this done by the same means by which it was settled; I say if this Catholick believe his eyes, he is at least to be excused; and though I know the Doctor will reply his Church is still in being, preserved in Bishops and Presbyters rightly ordained, yet let him remember how inconsequent this is, to what he hath said before, for ask him how it doth remain in being, if there be no such Bishops or Presbyters among them, for his defense against the Church of Rome is, that the secular authority hath power to make and change Bishops and Presbyters: from whence it will follow, that as they were set up by a secular authority, so are they pulled down, and unbishoped by another secular authority; if it be said the Parliament that pulled them down had not the three bodies requisite to make a Parliament, no more had that which set them up, for the Lords Spiritual were wanting both in Parliament and Convocation, so that there was as much authority to pull them down as to set them up: but it will be replied that though they are pulled down, yet are they still Bishops, viz: the character remains upon them.

Alas what is their Character, if their mission of Preaching and Teaching be extinguished, which follows their jurisdiction, which jurisdiction the Doctor makes subject to the secular authority, so that whatsoever characters their Bishops and Presbyters pretend to have, they have according to his principles no power over the laity, and so no character can be made of any Bishop as head and Pastor, and of the People as body and flock, and consequently their Church is gone.

But we account our selves Bishops and Priests not from an authority dependent upon Princes, or inherited from Augustus or Nero, but from Peter and Paul, and so shall stand and continue, whatsoever Princes or secular powers decree; when they according to their doctrines and arguments are not to wonder if they be thrown down by the same authority that set them up, and as the Synagogue was a Church to have an end, so is this with this difference, that the Synagogue was a true Church in reference to a better, but this is a counterfeite & tyranical one to punish a better.

As concerning the Doctors prayer for Peace and Communion, all good people will joyne with him, if he produce *Fructus dignos penitentiae*, especially if he acknowledge the infallibility of the Church, and supremacy of the Pope, the former is explicated sufficiently in divers Books, the latter is expressed in the Council of Florence in these words, viz. we define that the Holy Apostolical See, and the Bishop of Rome have the primacy over all the world, and that the Bishop of Rome is successor to S. Peter, the Prince of the Apostles, and truly Christs Vicar, and head of the whole Church, and the Father and Teacher of all Christians, and that there was given him in Saint Peter, from Christ a full power to feed, direct and governe the Catholike Church: So farre the Council. Without obeying this, the Doctor is a Schismatick, and without confessing the other, an Heretick, but let him joyne with us in these, all the rest will follow.

3. I shall not here repeat my complaint (if it were indeed such, and not rather a bare proposing of a last foreseen objection against us) knowing how little compassion any sufferings of ours may expect to receive from this Gentleman, I shall onely joyne issue with his tenders of proof, that our Church hath now no subsistence; but yet before I doe so, take notice of one part of his arguing, viz. that the Catholike hath, or is undoubtedly perswaded he hath a promise for eternity to his Church. Where certainly the fallacie is very visible, and sufficient to supersede (if he shall advert to it) his undoubted perswasion. For what promise of eternity can this Gentleman here reflect on? undoubtedly that of the Church of Christ indefinitely, that the Gates of Hell shall not prevaile against it, *Mat. 16. 18.*

4. What is the full importance of that phrase is * elsewhere largely shewed, and need not be here any farther repeated, than that the promise infallibly belongs not to any particular Church, of any one denomination, but to the whole body, Christ will preserve to himselfe a Church in this world, as long as this world lasteth, in despite of all the malice, cunning, or force of men, and devills.

5. Now that this is no security, or promise of eternity to any particular Church, whether of Rome or England, any more than

* Annot. on the place.

than of *Thyatira* or *Laodicea* (which contrary to any such promise, is threatned to be Spued out, *Rev. 3. 16.*) is in it self most evident, because the destroying any one particular Church is reconcileable with *Christs* preserving some other, as the *Species* of mankind is preserved, though the Gentleman and I should be supposed to perish, and because the *Εκκλησία μὲν*, my Church, which is there the subject of the discourse, is not the Romanist (or in that sense the Catholike) his Church, as is here suggested, but the Church of *Christ* built upon the foundation of the Apostles, of which *Simon* is there said to be one Πέτρος, i.e. stone or foundation-stone, so as he was of other Churches, beside that of *Rome*, and so as others were of other Churches, which he never came neere, and even of this of *Rome*, Saint Paul as well as he.

6. From hence therefore, by force of this promise (which as truly belongs to every Church, as it doth to *Rome*, but indeed belongs to no particular, but to the Christian Church, to conclude that the Church of *Rome* is eternall, is a first ungrounded perswasion in this Gentleman, the very same, as to conclude a particular is an universal, or that the destruction of one part is the utter dissolution of the whole; and the proof from experience of 16. ages, which is here added, is a strange way of argumentation, such as that *Methusalem* might have used the very day before his death, to prove that he should never dye, and the very same that *Heathen Rome* did use, at the time of their approaching destruction, calling her selfe * *Urbem aeternam*, the eternall City, and † *ἡ πόλις τοῦ οὐρανοῦ*, Rome the Heaven-City, and * *Παύλῳ θεῶν*, Rome a Goddesse, which accordingly had by *Adrian* a Temple erected to it, and the Emperors thereof, and the very name of the place worshipt as a deity (*More Dea, nomenque loci seu numen adorant*) and all this upon this one score, that it had stood and prospered so long.

* Hieron. qu. II. ad Alga.
† Athenens, l. I.
* Goltzius in Thesau: Dio in Adriano Prudentius.

7. The like may be affirmed of the Church of the *Jewes*, built upon a promise, which had more of peculiarity to the seed of *Abraham*, than this of *Mat. 16.* can be imagined to have to the Church of *Rome*, and yet that Church was destroyed,

stroyed, and nothing more contributed to the provocation, and merit of that *destruction*, than their owne confidence of being *unperishable*. The best admonition in this respect, is that of the *Apostle*, *Be ye not high-minded but feare*, and *If God spared not the Natural branches, take heed also lest he spare not you*; and this Gentleman cannot be ignorant what

* *Rom. 11. 2.* * Church it was, that was then capable of this exhortation. And the very making this matter of argument, and in this respect (not of *purity*, but of *duration*) exalting the *Romanist's Church*, above all other Churches in these words [*none other can compare with him,*] as it is one character which determines the speech to the particular Church of Rome, (for else how can he speak of others and affirme that they cannot compare) so it is no very humble, or consequently Christian expression in this Gentleman.

8. What he addes out of Master Hooker, and applies as the judgement of that learned man concerning the Church of England, yeilds us these farther observations, 1. That in all reason this Gentleman must in his former words speak of his Church of Rome, as that is a particular Church, for else how can he after his Church, name another Church, meaning this of England, of which saith he, Mr. Hooker speaks? and that will conclude the evident falsity of his assumption, that by Christ's promise eternity belonged to it, for that it cannot doe to any particular Church, because the Universal may be preserved, when that is destroyed, and the promise being made indefinitely to the Church, may be performed in any part of it.
9. Secondly, That a very small matter will serve turne with this Gentleman, to support a conclusion, which he hath a mind to inferre, otherwise Master Hookers Testimony had never been produced to this matter. The words of that (truly) most learned and prudent person, are to be found in his fifth Book, Num. 79. in the Conclusion. The subject of that whole Paragraph, beginning pag. 424. is of Oblations, Foundations, Endowments, Tishes, all intended for the perpetuity of Religion, which was in his opinion sure to be frustrated, by alienation of Church livings, and this being largely handled by

by him throughout that *Paragraph*, at length he observes, 1. what waste *Covetousnesse* had made in the *Church* by such *commutations*, as were proportionable to *Glancus's change*, giving the *Church flanel* for *Gold*: and 2. how *Religion* it self was made a *Sollicitor* and perswader of *Sacrilege*, signifying, that to give to God, is error, and to take it away againe *Reformation* of error, concluding in these words, *By these or the like suggestions received with all joy, and with like sedulity practised in certain parts of the Christian world, they have brought to passe, that as David doth say of Man, so it is in danger to be verified concerning the whole Religion and service of God, the time thereof may peradventure fall out to be threescore and ten yeers, or if strength doe serve unto fourescore, what followeth, is likely to be small joy for them, whosoever they be that behold it. Thus have the best things been overthrowne, not so much by puissance and might of a versaries, as through defect of Councel in them that should have upheld and defended the same.*

10. This is the first importance of that place which the *Gentleman* hath so disguised in his abbreviation. *Mr. Hooker* foretells what a destructive influence, *Sacrilege* may have on the whole *Religion* and *Service* of *God*, observes in certain parts of the *Christian world* (without naming any) that *sacrilegious suggestions* are received with all joy, and putting these two together, presageth sad events to the whole *Religion*, and *service* of *God*; within threescore and ten, or fourescore yeares, and from hence this *Gentleman* concludes it *Master Hooker's judgement*, that the *Church of England* was a building likely to last but fourescore yeares.

11. In what mode and figure this conclusion is thus made from the premisses, he leaves us to divine, who have not sagacity enough to discern it; The conclusion to all mens understanding will most regularly follow thus, that the *Church of England* was so constituted, that all the enemies thereof on either side were never likely to destroy it by arguments, and consequently that the most probable way remaining to *Satan* to accomplish his designe was, by *sacrilegious violations* to impoverish and subdue the maintainers of it, which as he foresaw very likely to come to passe within the age of a man, so it

would be no joyfull sight when it should come, he was not so unkinde to any part of the Church of God, as to be willing to live to see it.

12. And if this Gentleman's inclinations have qualified him for the receiving pleasure or joy in such a spectacle, I shall as little envy him the prosperity which hath thus petrified his bowels, as he shall think fit to envy me the honour of being a member of the purest (being withall the most persecuted) Church.
13. Thirdly, That these words of Mr. Hooker thus pitifully distorted are the onely proof he hath for his assertion, that this Church of ours hath now no subsistence, and that it is now torn up by the roots, A way of arguing very conformable to his characters of a true Church, of which external glory and prosperity must never misse to be one, but very unlike the image of Christ the head, to which his Church the body may be allowed to hold some proportion of conformity, for of him we can give no livelier portraiture, than as we finde him crucified between two thieves, whilst the souldiers divide his garments, though they were not over-sumptuous, and cast lots who shall have his vesture.
14. What next follows is an answer to a supposed objection of ours (and that is a farther evidence of what I said, that Mr. Hooker's distorted speech is the onely proof of his proposition) The objection is, that our Church is still in being preserved in Bishops and Presbyters rightly ordained; and to this objection he will make some answer from our own principles, of which he supposeth this to be one, that the secular authority hath power to make and change Bishops and Presbyters, and saith without any regrets, that this is my defence against the Bishop of Rome.
15. Many replies might be made to take off all appearance of force from this answer. As 1. that this, to which the answer is accommodated, is not my objection. The truth is, I took not on me the objectors part in that place, but evidenced it by clear demonstration, that if twenty years agoe the Church of England was a Church, it must needs be so now, being the very same that then it was, except these bands, as the Apostle once said, who I hope did not cease to be an Apostle by being

ing imprisoned. And when I mentioned the *Church of Englands* being preserved in *Bishops* and *Presbyters* rightly ordained, together with *multitudes* rightly baptized (which sure are all the necessary ingredients in constituting a visible Church) I added, none of which have fallen off from their profession, and then foreseeing the onely possible objection to inferre the Church guilty of *schisme*, I answered that by remembering the *Primitive persecutions* and *night-meetings*, and the very manner of the *Romanists* serving God in this Kingdom for these many years.

16. And all this is pulled off from the clue, and fumbled together into an objection of mine, supposed to be made against that which the *Romanist*, without either tender of proof, or reason, had crudely affirmed. But truly I may be believed, that I meant not that affirmation so much respect, as to offer objection against it : And then that is one speedy way of concluding this matter.
17. But then secondly, for that saying of mine, on which he will form his answer to this imaginary objection, 'tis certain I never said any such thing, as is here suggested : That the *supreme Magistrate* hath power to erect and translate *Patriarchates*, and the like, I had affirmed indeed, i. e. to make that a *Patriarchal See*, which had not formerly been such, so to ennoble a town or city, that according to the *Canons* of the Church it should become an *Episcopal*, or *Archiepiscopal*, or *Chief*, or *Patriarchal See*, and my meaning is evident, and not possible to be mistaken by any that understands the *Language*, and adverts to what he reads.
18. But sure I never said that the *secular authority* hath power to make *Bishops* and *Presbyters*, and there is no question but this *Gentleman* knows, if he hath read what he answers, that in the *Tract* of *Schisme* I never said it.
19. So again it is of daily practice in this Church, as in all others, for the *supreme power* to change, as that signifies to remove *Bishops* from one *See* to another, and so for every *lay-Patron* in the same sense to change *Presbyters* : But what is that to the making of *Bishops* or *Presbyters*, did ever King or *lay-Patron* pretend to that? This is too visible to need insisting on.

Thirdly,

20. *Thirdly*, when he saith there *was as much authority to pull down Bishops and Presbyters in this nation as to set them up*, I might demand, 1. Whether he hath any reason to pretend that *Presbyters* are now *pulled down* in this nation, for this is by him supposed, who inquires by what *authority* they are *pulled down*: 2. Whether he can, either upon mine or his own principles, assume with any colour of truth, that none had any hand in *setting up* the *Bishops* in this *Kingdome*, but those whom here he affirms to have consented to the *pulling* them down, and consequently affirm, that there was as much *authority to pull them down*, as to *set them up*? 3. Whether it have any truth in it, (whether he speak of what was done in *Parliament* in *King Henry's*, or *King Edward's*, or *Queen Elizabeth's* daies): that the *Lords Spiritual* were wanting both in *Parliament* and *Convocation*? 4. What he hath said to make it in the least degree *probable*, that the *Bishops* and *Presbyters* *mission* of *preaching* and *teaching* is *extinguished* among us, any more than it was in the *Primitive Church*, when the *Emperour* was not *favourable* to the *profession*, and when the *Jewes* called it *heresie*: And lastly, whether, if no one of these can with any degree of *verity* be answered in the *affirmative*, this be not very immoderate liberty, which this *Gentleman* hath given himself in *affirming* or *supposing* all these, and then adding, that our *portion* is to be lookt for with the *Jewish Synagogue*, as one, so the other, to have an *end*; not considering that he hath as little skill in *revealing secrets*, as even now in *interpreting* *Mr. Hooker's* *prophecy*, that he cannot yet tell, what *God* hath within his *veil* decreed concerning our *Church*, and which may yet make the greatest speed to follow the *Synagogue's* fate, they which are *cast down*, but not *destroyed*, or they which (to say no worse) *stand by*, and *rejoice* at it.

21. The *Treatise* of *Schisme* concludes with a *Prayer* for *Peace* and *Communion*, and for the matter of it, we have his seeming *confession* that *all good people will joyne* in it. But even in such a *Prayer*, wherein *all good people will joyne*, this *Gentleman* will not *joyne* with me, but upon such *termes*, which I shall not undertake, to *qualifie* me for his *favour*, I meane not

not the *fructus dignos pœnitentie*, such as John Baptist would prescribe, but the penances of this severer confessor, to acknowledge the *Infalibility* of the Church in his notion of the Church, Supremacy of the Pope, &c.

22. And all that I shall need to reply is, to beseech him that he will then, without joyning with me, pray in *secret*, what I began to him, and endeavour so to qualifie himselfe with *charity* and other *graces*, which may wing his prayers unto that holy place, where all *humble Christians* supplications daily meet, and then I shall againe pray God, that I may be found in the number of *those*, that so I may be secured to meet and joyne with him, at that *common throne of grace*.

23. He is pleased to shut up all with an expression of the *Council of Florence*, to the businesse of the *Popes supremacy*. To this I might reply that this *definition* is there visibly subscribed, as the *act* of the *Bishop of Rome, Eugenius IV.* (who was a *liberall carver and definer* for himselfe) as may be seen in that very * page, where the words cited will be found, both * *Concil: t. 7.* by the *Seale* of his *Pontificate* there *imprest*, *Saint Peter* on p. 858. *edit: the left hand, Saint Paul* on the *right*, and *Eugenius Pp. IV. Paris:* under it; and by the last part of the date in these words, τῆς ἀρχιεπισκοπῆς ἡμετέρας ἐννάτω, in the *ninth year* of our *Pontificate*; which though I shall suppose to be the *mode*, the *Pope* to pronounce the *definition* of the *Council*, yet this was much varied from the *old form*, and the *Council* being dated at *Florence*, in the year of our *Lord 1439.* so near *Rome*, and so farre from the *first times*, where more *simplicity* and just *distribution* of *rights* might be expected, this might be a competent answer to this *testimony*, and a *vindicating* my self from all *schisme* or *heresie*, that my want of the *obedience* or *confession*, which he requires, might fix on me.

24. But I shall for this once, choose somewhat the longer way, and transcribe part of *Marcus the Metropolitan of Ephesus* his answer, wherein he expresseth his opinion, and others, of that *definition* of the *Council*, as it lies in the * *Apologie* of * *Joseph Methonensis* for that *Council*, καὶ ἡμεῖς τὸ Πάππας ὡς θον: proCon- ἵνα τῇ Παλειᾷ χῶν λογιζόμεθα, ἔτοι δὲ βικέλιον τῷ Χρυσῷ καὶ πα- cil: Florent: τίει καὶ διδασκαλὸν τῇ Χρυσιανῶν ἀπάντων μάλα σεμνῶς ἀποφαί- p. 1023.

vorlai, We also account the Pope as one of the Patriarchs, But these doe with great gravity pronounce him Vicar of Christ, and Father and Teacher of all Christians: and this both to them and us is matter of some wonder, how (μάλα σπουδῆς) with so much gravity, they could thus pronounce, what had so little of truth in it.

25. And it is worth recounting here, what for the justifying of that definition Joseph Methonensis was able to reply there to that Bishop (and that reply thought worthy to be inserted into the Acts of the Council) 1. That he doth not say that the Pope is two or three, but onely one of the Patriarchs, ἐν ᾧ ὁμολογῆσι τὸς πρωτεύων, having præminence among those of the same Order with him.
26. For this he hath, 1. Chrysostome's authority in his 17 Homilie on the Acts, where, he saith, that among the seven there was one, πρῶτον καὶ τὰ πρωτεύοντα ἔχων, one above the rest (and the seven there, were the seven Deacons, and the same præminence that Stephen then had over them, and all the rest of the world, we shall not deny the Bishop of Rome, especially if, as it follows there, he have the πλείονα χάριν more grace than all the other Bishops, and will acknowledge, as it is there also, the χειροτονίαν κοινῶν, the same ordination of him and all other Bishops.)
27. Secondly, the saying of Christ, that, He that heareth you, heareth me, and the common maxime πάντα ἀρχιερεῖα διάδοχον Χριστοῦ εἶναι, that every Bishop is the successor of Christ (But then how came the Bishop of Rome to impropriate that title, to be the onely one that all are obliged to hear, when, as he confesses there, καὶ ταῦτα μὲν κοινῶς πρὸς πάντας, This was said in common to them all.)
28. Thirdly, the words of Theodorus Studita (one, by the way, that had been imprisoned for opposing the Bishop of Constantinople, and who did not communicate with that Church, see Zonaras tom: 3. p.9. & 102.) to the Emperor Michael, that if he doubted of, or disbelieved any thing that had been there resolved, he should command a διακρίσις declaration or explication to be sent him from old Rome, ἀπὸ παλαιοῦ καὶ ἀρχαῖς πατριάρχαις ὡς ἐκείνην, how from of old, and from the beginning.

beginning it had been delivered by tradition of Fathers, adding that that was κορυφαία τῆς ἐκκλησιᾶς the uppermost of the Churches of God, of which Peter was πρῶτος ἐν αὐτῇ, the first that sate Bishop there, unto whom Christ said, *Thou art Peter, &c.* (But all this still amounts to no more, but that Rome was the prime Apostolick See, that might very probably explicate a difficulty to the Emperour, by telling what had been from time to time delivered, and believed in that Church.)

29. Fourthly, the words of the same Theodorus Studita again, in his Epistle to Naukraticus, which speaks of some that had broken off themselves from the body of Christ, from the chief See, in which Christ placed the Keyes of that faith, against which the gates of hell, the mouthes of hereticks had not, should not prevail, (But then still, supposing his testimonie were authentick, this is no more, but that, they which divided from the true doctrine, which he supposed to be at Rome, did in his opinion break off themselves from the body of Christ, that Rome again was the prime See, that it had the Keyes of knowledge and faith intrusted to it by Christ, at the Apostles founding a Church there, but this not exclusively to other Churches, which doubtlesse had those Keyes, as well as she, & that the faith of Christ should never be utterly destroyed by hereticks.)
30. Fifthly, the words of Arcadius a Bishop in the third Council, that of Ephesus, proposing that the words of Celestine the Pope, who was to be named with all reverence, Bishop of the Apostolicall See, should be read, that they might see what care he had of all Churches (and why might not the like be said of any other truly Christian Bishop?) And so the like speech again of Cyrill of Alexandria, that the letter of Celestine, the most holy Bishop of the holy Apostolick Church (a title which belonged, and was ordinarily given to other Sees, beside that of Rome) καὶ τῆς προσόβου τιμῆς ἀναγινωσκέτω might be read with due honour or respect (but sure that doth not prove his supreme power over all the Churches of God.)
31. Lastly, the words of the Emperour's letter (called θεῖον γράμμα a divine letter) in the Council of Chalcedon, that the most

blessed Bishop of the city of Rome, to whom antiquity hath given *ἱερωσύνην καὶ πᾶντων*, priesthood over all, *χωρὸν καὶ ἐντολίαν* ἔχον *καὶ πίστεως καὶ ἱερέων ἀνακρίνειν*, may have a place and power to judge of faith and of Priests, from whence he roundly concludes, *Ἐπεὶ οὖν καὶ πίστις*, &c. Seeing then he hath power to judge of Faith and Priests, he is justly defined by the Council of Florence *διδάσκαλος καὶ ὁ χειριστὴς πάντων*, the teacher of all Christians.

32. This being the last and most probable, and indeed onely Testimonie, to justifie with any colour of reason the definition of that Council, it is not amisse to consider it a little, and with that to conclude also the debate with this Gentleman, as Joseph Methonensis there did with the Bishop of Ephesus. And if we turn to the Acts of the Council of Chalcedon, we shall soon discern the full weight of it.

33. There in the * first part, num: 25. we shall finde this Letter, styled *θεῶν γεόμμεα*, sent by Valentinian the Emperour to Theodosius, *ὥς κελεύσαι ἐν τοῖς μέρεσι τῆς Ἰταλίας συνόδον ἐπιτελεσθῆναι*, that he would command a Synod to be called in the parts of Italy. This then was the subject of the Letter, and this the occasion; A second Synod had lately been held at Ephesus, in which the heresie of Eutyches had received some assistance, Upon this Pope Leo, and his Synod of Bishops met at Rome, * writes earnestly to the Emperor Valentinian, that he will *κελεύειν* command *γενικῶς* *συνόδον* a General Council to be called in the parts of Italy, that may remove and mollifie all offences. The same he * again proposes to the Emperour Theodosius there, desiring *ἰδικῶς* *συνόδον* a special Council to be convened in the parts of Italy. Hereupon soon follows a letter of Valentinian to Theodosius to the same purpose, in condescension to Leo's request, and in it those very words (recited by Joseph Methonensis in defence of the Council of Florence) to no other sense but this, that such a Council might be convened in Italy, to review and reform what had been done amisse in that second Council of Ephesus.

34. This therefore is the meaning of the *ἵνα χωρὸν καὶ ἐντολίαν* ἔχῃ, that he may have a place and power] that some place may be assigned him and the Bishops, to meet in Council, that he may

may have power, or faculty, or Commission to sit (not he by himself, but he and the Bishops in Council) and when they sit, *πέρ τε πίστεως καὶ ἱερέων κείνῳ*, to judge of faith and Priests, as in all Councils it is done, to define what is the true faith, opposed by hereticks, and what persons, Bishops or others are fit to be censured for any thing done or taught by them.

35. This is the plain and onely importance of the place, to which all the rest of the *Epistle* accords, that an *Universal Council* should be called in *Italy*, wherein the *Pope* was doubtlesse to preside, and he *συναχθέντων ἐκ παντὸς οἰκουμένης καὶ ἁπλῶν ἱερέων*, all other Bishops also being convened from the whole world, should consider and define, what the true faith required. And so this is a faire testimonie to prove that the *Pope* is the *Vicar of Christ*, the Father and teacher of all Christians.

X 3

The



The Conclusion.

Num. 1. **I** Am now come to the *close* of this *Gentleman's Answer* in these words,

Thus, Sir, you have my sense of Doctor Hammond's Book in all the particulars, which, I think, to the purpose; my time, nor the brevity fit for a Letter, not permitting I should be more methodical, and doe rest

*Bruxels,
the 30 March,
1654.*

Your friend
and humble servant,

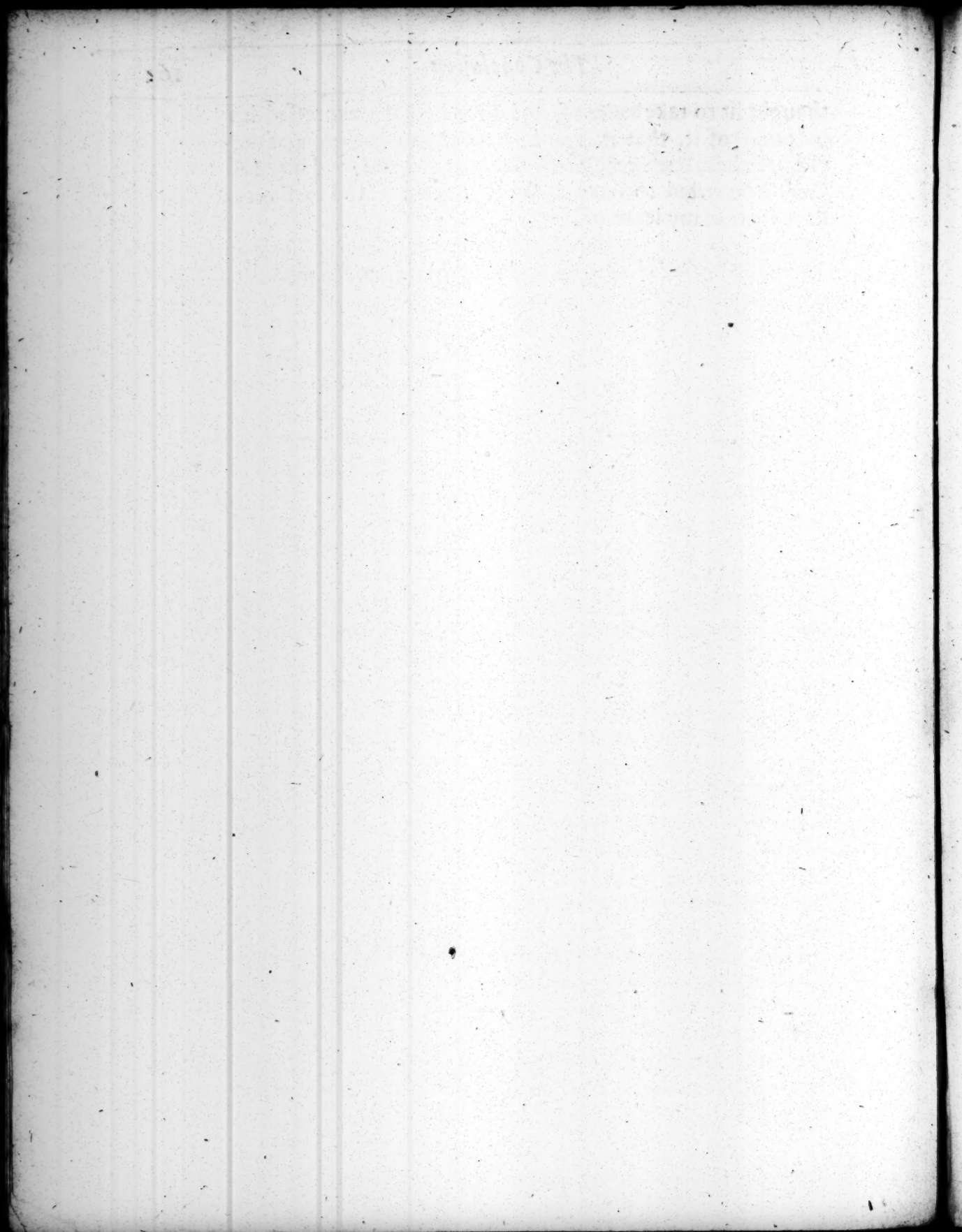
B. P.

2. Here he is pleased largely enough to assume the office of an *Aristarchus*, and to involve under no light *censure*, of *impertinency* at the least, the farre greatest part of that *Treatise* of *Sckisme*, for certainly that which he hath not offered any *Answer* to, is such, and yet he here undertakes to have given his *sense in all the particulars, which he thinks to the purpose*, which must conclude it his *opinion*, that all other *particulars* are not to the *purpose*. This indeed is a *performance* somewhat above the *promise* of the *title page*, which obliged him to an *Answer of the most material parts* of that *Treatise*; And it were very easie to shew that there is no degree of truth in either of these, that on the contrary, he hath not offered any word of *Reply* to the most *material*, which I hope are not the *least pertinent* parts of that *Treatise*. But instead of this larger *Reflexion* it may suffice, that whatsoever he hath thought


thought fit to take notice of, and thereby hath expressed his judgment of it, that it is *most material* in comparison of the rest hath here been very particularly considered, and his *Answers* manifested to have no force in them. And so I very friendly take my leave of him.

*The God of all grace and peace binde up the wounds of
his bleeding Church.*

An.



An Account of H. T. his APPENDIX
TO
His MANUAL OF CONTROVERSIES,
CONCERNING
*The Abbot of Bangor's Answer
to Augustine.*

1. AVING concluded the foregoing *Reply* to the *Catholick Gentleman*, I received news of a *Manual of Controversies* in the presse, wherein I was said to be particularly concerned, and having soon gotten a sight of it, I found that the matter was of no greater bulk or weight, than might receive an account in few words, & those most proper to be here annext, by way of *Appendix*.
2. At the folding up of that *Manual*, the *Author* of it is pleased to take notice of (no more than) one *testimonie*, which I had cited out of *Sir Henry Spelman's Anglicane Councels*, containing an *Answer* of the *Abbot of Bangor* to *Augustine* the *Monk*, when he demanded of the *Britains* an acknowledgment of *submission* to the *Bishop of Rome*.
3. The passage is to be seen at large, in *Welsh*, *English*, and *Latine*, in that *volume* of the *Councels*, p. 108. and is recited in the *Treatise of Schisme*, p. 111. and the summe of it is, that he and the rest of the *British Church* were under the government of the *Archbishop of Caerleon upon Uske*, and owed no obedience (or respect, save that of *fraternal charity*) to the *Pope of Rome*.

4. This Answer of that Abbot, the Authour hath thought good to *censure* (by way of Appendix to the Article concerning the Pope's Supremacy) 1. As unapt to conclude against the Romanist's pretensions concerning the Papal power over the whole Church. 2. As unworthily alledged by persons of any ordinary judgment or erudition. 3. As that which may easily be convicted to be a simple imposture, and the waies of demonstrating it clearly, promised in that insuing discourse.
5. What those waies are, and how farre short of the force or evidence of demonstration, I shall, with the Reader's good leave, examine anon, after I have premised this one consideration, That the onely thing, which is by us contested, and concluded against the Romanist from this testimonie, is a matter of fact of known truth, and such as the Romanists themselves (yea and this Authour H. T. who hath thought fit to arraign this testimonie) acknowledge to be such, and therefore, as in case this one testimonie should be demonstrated to be a simple imposture, we can very unconcernedly and easily part with it, standing in no manner of need of this auxiliarie, so it is a little strange that this Authour should think it worth his solemn pains, to wrest it out of our hands, and dedicate this whole Appendix to that one work, when if he were successfull to his wish; his acquisitions hereby, and proportionably our losses, must be so unconsiderable.
6. That which we conclude from hence against the Romanist is no more but this, that the Britains, particularly those of Bangor, denied to yeild obedience to the Pope upon Augustine's demand of it. And for this we have the notorioufness of the fact, as it is set down by the Authours which are of credit, and are vouched in this matter by the Romanist, particularly by Bede, in the second Book of his Ecclesiastick Historie, c. 2. where the whole story may be read at large, and out of which I shall collect, and, in passing, clear these few things.
7. First, that Augustine and the British Bishops met in Council at Augustine's Oake in Worcestershire; This passage lyes very corruptly in the Latine Bede, in loco ubi usque hodie lingua Anglorum Augustineizat, id est, robur Augustini in confinio

confinio Vettiorum & Occidentalium Saxonum appellatur. Three *corruptions* I suppose there will soon appear to be in these words, which I shall briefly remove for the clearing of our entrance, and disabusing the *Authour* of this *Manual* in one of them.

8. The first, and chief of them is, that *Augustines-ac* is a *σφαλμα* *παραφρον*, mistaken for *Augustines-ac*, i.e. *Augustines oake*, whether that were the name of a *Tree*, or a *Village*, most probably the former, after the manner of that *Council*, which was held against *S. Chrysostome*, called ordinarily the *Synod ad quercum*, at, or under the *Oake*.
9. Secondly, that [*ubi*] should be read [*qui*] which is an easie mistake, and so the construction will be *facile*, which now is rough, in loco qui usque hodie *Augustines-ac* appellatur, in the place which even to this day is called *Augustine's-ac*, and accordingly the *Saxon* reads on þære rtope þe mon nemneð *Agyrtunur ac*, in the place still named *Augustine's Oake*.
10. Thirdly, that *Vettiorum* (which the *Author* of this *Appendix* renders *Vettians*, and interprets to be the *Isle of Wight*, quite against all probable conjecture, for how can it be believ'd that the *Britains* should give him a meeting so farre from the place of their own present habitation?) should be *Wicciorum* (so *Huntington* reads it, and the *Saxon Bede* *Hwicna*) * *l. 3. p. 325.* meaning *Worcestershire* by that style, and accordingly this *Synod* is by *Authors* oft called *Wigorniensis Synodus*, the *Worcestershire Synod*; and among the *British Bishops*, who are recorded to be present at the second Session, *Wiccensis*, the *Bishop of Worcester* is one. In what part of that County it was that that *Synod* convened, I see it is uncertain among our later *Writers*, and so there may be place for conjecture, *Sir Henry Spelman* from the *Map* proposeth *Austric*, as a probable contraction from *Austinsric*, *Augustini ditio*, as that which may give some light in a doubtfull matter, but upon inquiry I hear that that village is called *Aufric* or *Alfric*, not *Austric*, and therefore I shall take confidence to mention, what seems to me farre more probable, that it was in the parish of *Merton*, which hath the agnomen of *Ussentree*,

or *Ossentree*, in old rolls, *Merton juxta Ossentree*, *Merton* close by *Ossentree*, an easie variation from, and contraction of *Austin tree*, and is three miles from *Worcester*, neer the rode to *Droitwich*, where the *hill-Church* is *Augustine's Church*.

11. Secondly, that the businesse of this convention, designed to draw the *British* to obedience to *Augustine* & the *See of Rome*, began with a proposition onely of conformity in the observation of *Easter*, in the Ceremonies of Baptisme &c. But this in vain; for, saith *Beda*, after a long disputation they would give no assent to the intreaties, and exhortations and chidings of *Augustine*, but preferred their own tradition before all the Churches through the world, which accorded with *Rome* in the particular of *Easter*, &c.
12. Thirdly, that for the convincing of them, *Augustine* challenged them to doe miracles, and by prayer to God cured a blinde man, and was much cried up for so doing, the *British* still adhering to their way, and answering him, that *absque consensu & licentiâ suorum*, without consent and licence of their whether Rulers of Church, or whatsoever other superiors also (their *Metropolitan*, I suppose, which cannot be thought to have been with them at this, being certainly none of the seven Bishops, which are affirmed to have been present at the later convention) they could not forsake their antient customs.
13. Fourthly, that upon proposall, it was agreed that they should have a second meeting, at which were present seven *British Bishops* (which other Writers expresse to have been the Bishop of *Hereford*, *Landaff*, *Bangor*, *S. Assaph*, *Worcester*, *Paternensis*, *Morganensis*) and many other learned men, especially *de nobilissimo eorum Monasterio, quod vocatur lingua Anglorum Bancornaburg, cui tempore illo Dinooth Abbas præsuisse narratur*, of the famous Monasterie of *Bangor*, of which *Dinooth* was Abbot at that time.
14. Fifthly, that before they went to this Meeting, they were advised by a religious person, whose directions they asked, to observe diligently the behaviour of *Augustine*, when they came, whether he were meek and lowly in heart, a mark by which

which they might know whether he had taken *Christ's* yoke upon him, and consequently whether it were the yoke of *Christ*, which he now desired to impose upon them, and upon *Augustine's* sitting still upon his stool or seat, and never rising up with any civility or humility, at their approach, they were so displeased, saith *Bede*, that they contradicted all the proposals that he made to them.

15. Sixthly, that upon his making three Propositions to them, concerning *Easter*, *Baptisme*, and preaching to the *English*, and promising to bear with them in all other differences, (of which sort, said he, there were many wherein their practice was contrary consuetudini nostra, imò Universalis Ecclesia, to the custome of the *Roman*, yea the *Universal Church*) they answered, nihil horum se facturos, nec illum pro Archiepiscopo habituros, that they would not comply with him in any of them, nor acknowledge him for their *Archbishop*; Upon which follows that rough sanguinarie answer of *Augustine's*, quod si pacem cum fratribus accipere nollent, bellum ab hostibus forent accepturi, that if they would not accept of peace with brethren, they should have warre from enemies, and, as it follows in very plain language, per Anglorum manus ultionem mortis essent passuri, the hands of the *English* should act a bloody revenge upon them.

16. Which, it seems, soon after followed, and fell in an eminent manner on the *Monks* of *Bangor*, of which order there were at that time above two thousand, who lived all by the labour of their own hands. For, saith he, *King Edilfred* of *Northumberland*, coming with a great Army to *Caerleon*, made his first onset on their *Priests*, who were assembled by themselves to fast and pray for their brethren, (as *Moses* holding up his hands in prayer, whilest *Josua* held up his in fighting) and upon no other provocation (taken notice of by the *Historian*) but this, that they fought against him with their prayers (contra nos pugnant qui adversus nos in precatationibus prosequuntur) he first set upon them, killed 1200 of them, and then destroyed the whole Army. Sicque completum est presagium sancti Pontificis Augustini, and so the presage of the holy *Bishop St. Augustine* was fulfilled upon them.

17. These particulars of the *story* I have thus punctually set down in obedience to the rebuke of this *Author*, who p. 412. chargeth it upon Sir Hen: Spelman, and those others that borrow out of him, as a want of willingness to see the truth, & of fidelity to communicate it to others, that they have chosen to reflect on that testimonie (which he is pleased to call *upstart*, and) which appeared not till within these 15 years, and not upon that true antiquity, which having indured the shock of almost a 1000 years, Sir Henry had a little before transcribed out of Bede, wherein, saith he, every one may read, first that miracle in giving sight to the blinde man, then that divine vengeance prophetically foretold by *Augustine*, which (in his opinion) more than sufficiently prove, that *S. Augustine*, sent by the Pope, came in the name of God, from a lawfull authority, and that his demands of conformity to the Church of Rome in the points specified were good, and to be yeilded to by the Britains.

P. 413.

18. In this matter I might now fitly inlarge, and examine the force of this two-fold argument, that of the miraculous cure, and that of the predicted vengeance, and offer many things to consideration concerning each head.

19. For the former, 1. the no great credit that hath been given to the relations of Bede on this head of miracles (of which his *Story* is so richly furnished) together with the great deceit that such pretensions have been experimented to subject men to: Secondly, the confession of Bede, that the Brittaines were * unwilling to yeild to this tryall of their cause, and accordingly when he saith that the † blinde man being offered to the Priests of the Brittaines, he received no cure or benefit by them, he doth not so much as pretend that the Brittaines attempted to doe the miracle, and failed in it, but leaves us to resolve that they wholly waved this tryall: Thirdly, that if the miracle were granted to be a true miracle, and a testimony of Gods asserting the doctrines then contested between them, yet this would not be any concludent testimonie for the Pope's Supremacy, but onely for those things which were then the matter of the question, the time of the observation of Easter, the rites of Baptisme, accustomed in the Roman Church, and at the most some such like traditions,

* Quod cum adversarii, inviti licet, concederent.
† Cum oblati Britonū sacerdotibus nil curationis horum ministerio cepit.

traditions, wherein the *British* custome varied from that of *Rome*, for this was the forme of the proposed tryall, *qua sequenda traditio quibus sit viis ad ingressum regni illius prope-
randum*, what tradition was to be followed (in the celebration of *Easter*, that which the *Britains* had received and retained from their first conversion, imputed to an *Apostle* or *Apostolical* person, *Simon Zelotes* or *Joseph of Arimathea*, or that which the *Romans* deduced from *S. Peter*) by what waies they were to hasten to entrance into that *Kingdome* (referring, I suppose, to the rites of *baptisme*, the second head of debate between them) And in both these, (as also in refusing to joyn with *Augustine* in the common work of preaching to the *Gentiles*) it may easily be granted by us, that the truth was on the *Romanists* side, and not on the *Britains*, without yielding a *supremacie* of the *Church of Rome* over the *British Churches*. Fourthly, that the *Britains* by *Bede's* confession, acknowledged themselves convinced by that miracle, that the way of righteousness which *Augustine* preached, was the true way, yet added, that they could not renounce their antient customes without the consent and licence of their own (*superi-
ors*) which evidently confines and determines the miracle and all the supposed virtue thereof to the confirming the *Traditions* which *Augustine* delivered, without farther extending it to the asserting the *Papal* power (to which the *Abbot of Bangor's* answer was particularly confronted) for had they once acknowledged themselves convinced of that, there had been no place left for the *licentia suorum*, no need of the consent or licence of any other superiors, which yet they resolutely adhere to. Lastly, that at their second meeting the *Britains* deemed *Augustine's* pride a more valid convincing argument; that the yoke which he designed to impose on them was not the yoke of *Christ*, than the supposed miracle; that it was.

20. And for the latter, that of the slaughter, first * threatened and then fulfilled upon them, 1. If that were indeed a miracle, it was not of the complexion, which is generally observed in *Christ's* miracles, used for the working of faith, but proportionable to the *Spirit of the Boanerges*, which would have the fire from heaven called down upon the *Samaritans*, and bert.

* Fertur mi-
nitans præ-
dixisse. Bede.
Terruit eos
vaticinio fu-
tura super
eos calami-
tatis. Sige-
bert.

and were answered by *Christ* that this was not agreeable to the *Spirit* of the *Gospel*; And if the *example* of *S. Peter* on *Ananias* and *Sapphira*, or of *S. Paul* on *Elymas* be made use of as a precedent for this severity, yet sure the answer of *Pope Gregory* to *Augustine* at that time, supposing different Churches to enjoy different customs, and not imposing the Roman upon all, might have directed him to greater moderation. See *Bede*: l. 1. c. 27. in his answer to the third Interrogation. Secondly, it is no very great miracle, that a grand Army falling first upon unarmed Monks, should obtain the victory against them, and afterward against all other their opposers; nor consequently is it any whit strange that *Augustine*, that was so provoked, and meant to use this bloody revengefull course, should thus threaten what he then designed to see performed, for that is the full meaning of his foretelling it.

21. It is true indeed that either *Bede*, or some Interpolator, that copied out the original Latine of that *Historie*, hath thought good to insert some words in the end of that story, l. 2. c. 2. in fine, (*quamvis ipso jam multo ante tempore ad cœlestia regna sublato*) which might delude men into a perswasion, that this bloody act was a long time after *Augustine's* death; But for this, First, it is observable that *King Alfred's Saxon translation* or paraphrase of *Bede*, wholly omits that parenthesis, and reads it onely thus, 7 ƿƿa ƿær Ʒefylled ƿe ƿiteðom ƿær halȝan B. Agurȝinur þ̅ hƿ ƿceoldan, &c. and so was fulfilled the prediction of *S. Augustine*, that they should feel the revenge of temporal destruction. Secondly, that the series of the story in *Bede* gives just prejudice to that parenthesis, for this of the slaughter of the Britans being set down in the end of that second Chap: the third begins with *Augustine's* ordaining two Bishops, *Mellitus* and *Iustus*, which sure was not after his death, and as the *Saxon paraphrase* of *King Alfred* begins that Chapter with this form of reference to the former passage, Ða ƿær aften þƿrrum— It was after this— which plainly defines *Augustine* to have survived that bloody act, so the Latine *Bede*, which sets down the time of *Augustine's* ordaining those two Bishops, Anno Dominica incarnationis sexcentesimo quarto, In the year 604, doth yet more incline

us to suspect that *Parenthesis*, for though *Bede*, who sets down the month and day of *Augustine's* death, sets not down the year of it, but leaves it in a latitude to be between the year 596. in which he came to *England*, and the year 613. (or, as the *Saxon* reads 616.) in which *King Ethelbert* died, yet others commonly affirm that he continued *Bishop* 15 or 16 years, and so died about 612 or 13. whereas *Chronologers* affirm the slaughter of the *Monks* of *Bangor* &c. to have been in the year 603, and so the year immediately precedent to *Augustine's* ordaining those two *Bishops*. Thirdly, when in the relation of this slaughter, the *Latine Bede* begins *Siquidem posthac ipse, de quo diximus, Rex Anglorum*— For after this, i. e. after *Augustine's* threatening destruction to the *British*, the forenamed *King of the Angles* gathered an Army—the *Saxon* paraphrase reads, and fona hƿape æfter ðýrrum, and soon rath, i. e. very soon after this, which again perswades that it was before *Augustine's* death, at least that the *jam multo ante* in the *Parenthesis* (that *Augustine* died long before) could have no truth in it. Lastly, as some Writers of these dark times have made a shift to affirm with the *Latine Bede* that *Augustine* was first dead so it is known also that others charge it on him, that he was not onely the inciter to it, but that he met the *Kings* when they were ready for the fight, and was present with them; And *Trivet* in his *French Chronicle*, that saith it was done after *Augustine's* death, yet adds that *Ethelbert King of Kent*, who stirred up *Ethelfred King of Northumberland* and his *Saxons* against the *Britans*, and by name against *Dinoth Abbot of Bangor* forementioned, was highly displeased and inflamed, that he had despised *Augustine*. All which being considered, it is certain, that this was no very *Christian* action, whether in *Augustine* or in *Ethelbert*, and the threats of the one, and performances of the other, as they bear an exact proportion, so are they equally argumentative, not for, but against that cause, which was willing thus unchristianly to support it self.

22. Thirdly, if the slaughter of these poor *Monks* shall yet be thought a solid probation, as an act of divine vengeance upon them

them (just such as the *falling* of the *towre* of *Silve* was, from which none but a *Jew*, or *Turke*, or the *Barbarians*, *Act. 28.* or those that make *prosperity* the speciall mark of the *true Church*, will think fit to *conclude* any thing) there is one part of the *story* yet *behinde*, which will *refute* and *retort* that *argument*, for when *Edilfrid* had used them so *bloodily*, and in the heat of his *rage* and *victory* proceeded to destroy the remainder of those *Monks*, and their *Monasterie* together, the *avengers* of blood met him, three *British* *Commanders*, with their *forces*, routed his *Army*, killed *ten thousand* and *sixty* of them, wounded the *King*, and put him and the remainder of his *Army* to *flight*, which certainly is an *argument* of as much *validity* to inferre that *God* maintained the *cause* of those *innocent Monks* against the *Saxons* and *Augustine*, as the former was *argumentative* on their side against the *British*.

23. But it is not needfull, that I insist on either of these, the one thing that from this *view* of the *story* in *Bede* was to be concluded, is onely this, that upon the *relations*, as in him they lie, and are by this *Author H.T.* vouched against us, there can be no doubt of our *Conclusion*, that the *Abbot* and *Monks* of *Bangor* opposed *Augustine*, yielded him no *obedience*, referred themselves onely to their own *Governours*, without any *acknowledgment* of *obedience* to the *Pope*; And this is generally the result of other *Authors* narrations of this matter.

24. So * *Baleus*, speaking of that convention, *Dinotus omnium.*
* in *Dinotus*. *primus graviter & doctè de non approbanda apud eos Romanorum autoritate disputabat*, *Dinotus* in the first place gravely and learnedly disputed against the Authority of the *Bishops* of *Rome* among them, adding, *Fortiter præterea tuebatur Mennevensis Archiepiscopi in Ecclesiarum suarum rebus ratam jurisdictionem*, that he moreover strongly and courageously defended the validity of the jurisdiction of the *Archbishop* of *S. Davids* (the same that in the *Abbots* answer is called the *Bishop* of *Caerleon*) in the affairs of his own Churches.

25. So *Geffrey* of *Monmouth*, *Edelbertus Rex Kantiorum, ut vidit Britones dedignantibus subjectionem Augustino facere Northumbrorum.*

thumbrorum & ceteros Saxonum regulos instimulavit, ut collecto grandi exercitu in civitatem Bangor Abbatem Dinoh & ceteros clericos, qui eos spreverunt, perditum irent. King Ethelbert seeing the Britains disdain to yeild their subjection to Augustine, stirred up the King of Northumberland and other Saxon Kings to gather a great army against the city Bangor, to destroy Dinoh the Abbot and the other Clerks of that Monasterie, who had scorned Augustine and the Saxons.

26. So Sigebert in Anno 602. — *habita Synodo cum Britonum & Scotorum Episcopis, & sacerdotibus & Monachis invenit adversarios equitatis.* Augustine had a meeting with the British and Scottish Bishops, and there found an opposition from the Priests and Monks, and terrified them by prediction of a calamity that should fall on them. Other evidences to the same purpose are set down in the Collection of the Anglicane Councils, and Mr. Whelock's Notes on his edition of the Saxon Bede, p. 115. if there could now remain any question of it.

27. And that this was discerned by the Author of this Appendix, if it had been for his Interest to have taken notice of it, is evident by his mention of the miracle and divine vengeance, as of proofs that Augustine was in the right against these refusers, who yet continued, saith he, still refractory to his proposals. And this was all I concluded from the Abbot's answer, and this stands firm in this Romanist's own confession, though the words of the Abbot's answer had not been preserved to us.

28. And therefore being now wholly unconcerned in the validity of this testimony, and so secured from all danger of being bribed by interests to judge more favourably of it than the matter requires, I shall now proceed calmly to consider, whether there be that clearness and evidence in this Author's arguments for the invalidating this testimony, which he assures us we shall finde in them.

29. His first argument is negative from the [not least scrap of Antiquity so much as pretended to prove that the Cambrian (i. e. Welch) lines cited, were the Abbot of Bangor's answer to Augustine upon the occasion specified, nor that the renowned

p. 405.

Dinoth was that Abbot, nor that the old Manuscr: whence Sir Henry Spel: extracts the testimony, was copied out of any more antient.

30. What other proof from antiquity should be expected from Sir Henry Spelman to give authority to these lines, than what readily offers it self in this matter, I doe not understand; That the *British*, particularly those of *Bangor*, and yet more peculiarly *Dinoth* the famous Abbot of that *Monasterie*, disputed against *Augustine* pretensions for the authority of the *Bishop of Rome*, and shew'd their own subjection to their *Metropolitane*, hath already appeared to be the affirmation of those, who are most competent witnesses of it; and the *Manuscript* passage in *Welsh* and *English*, which Sir H. Spel: had transcribed from Mr. *Moston's* Copie (and directs the Reader to Sir *Robert Cotton's* Library to satisfy himself in that matter) is directly agreeable to this for the matter of it, and so gave that very judicious Knight just reason both to set some value on it himself, and to communicate it to others, as that which might gratify their curiosity, and approve it self by its own light to any judicious Reader, to be, if not the very words of that Abbot's answer, yet the sense and substance of it, and whether of these it should be judged to be, it matters not.

31. Had the contents of this Testimony been any way contrary to other undoubted records of those times, or indeed any disparate new relation, that had not formerly been taken notice of, and was now to owe the whole credit and support to this Testimonie, some reason there might have been for an *Aristarchus* to proceed with more caution than here was used, and to yeild nothing to bare groundlesse conjectures (and the *Romanist* hath as much reason as any man to lay this to heart, to act with this caution in other Testimonies) but when the matter is agreed on among the *Antients*, and an old record offers it self to our view, in perfect concord with that which we had formerly all reason to believe, and onely affirms that more legibly and distinctly, which was in substance before, but not so punctually delivered to us, I cannot think the severest Critick, supposing him unconcerned and impartial,

tial, without any *hypothesis* of his own to be defended or tended by him, would have any *aversion* or dislike to a testimony thus produced, though for some *circumstances* of it, such as are here mentioned, the producer have nothing of *authority* to back his own *conjectures*.

32. This one thing I am sure is most *unjust*, not to give credit to a *Manuscript*, that it is what it pretends to be, unlesse I have some expresse affirmation of *Antiquity* concerning that particular *Manuscript*; should such rules of severity be now imposed on the *presse*, the *Vatican* must never bring forth more *rarities*, the wealth of all the *Archives* in the world must lie dead, like a *Miser's treasure*, no one volume being able to testify for the *veracity* of its neighbour, or if it were, it self must also bring its *voucher* along with it, and so on in *infinitum*, or else it would not be *ἰσχυρὰ* a competent *testification* in this matter, and when it is remembred, that all, which is now made *publick* by the help of *Printing*, lay once in *single Manuscripts*, and those multipliable onely by *transcribing*, and neither the *originals* nor *Copies* any other way testified to be what they pretended to be, than as these *Cambrian* lines are delivered to us by Sir Henry, I hope this will be deemed a competent proof, that this first argument is not so clearly demonstrative as was promised.

33. Another branch there is of this first argument, in these words, And certainly if his *Manuscript* be no elder than the interlined *English*, he hath grossly wronged himself and his Reader, by honouring it with the style of *Antient*: For, as everyone sees, the *English* is purely modern, and cannot be so old by many years as Henry the Eighth's cashiering the Pope's authority, and arrogating the supremacy in Ecclesiasticall matters to himself, for maintenance whereof it is alledged, and was certainly forged.

p. 405.

34. To this I answer briefly, that it is not pretended by Sir Henry, that the *English* is as antient as the times of *Dinob*, no nor the *Welsh* neither, but that those two *Languages* were made use of by some, whose ages he pretends not to know, to convey to us intelligibly the answer of that *Abbot*, in what language soever it were delivered by him; And if it

shall now be granted to this *Author*, that the *English idiom* evidenceth it to be written within these last 100 years, this can be no *prejudice* or ground of *suspicion*, much lesse a proof of *forgery* against this *Manuscript*, as long as the *Welch* is allowed to be more *antient*, to which the *English* may upon a latter transcribing have been annexed, as fitly as old *Greek MSS.* are daily printed with the *Latine translations* of a later date, in the *same* or several *pages*.

35. His *second argument* is deduced from the *Cambrian lines*,
 p. 4c6, 7, 8. in which he pretends to discover many *un-Cambrian mixtures* of *English words*, *helpio* and *gleimio*, for *help* and *claim*, want of *Orthographie*, and the like; To which being utterly unskilfull in the *Welch language*, I acknowledge my self *incompetent* to give any very *particular* reply, yet shall give my *reason*, why I cannot think that this *second argument* of his is any more *demonstrative* against the *validity* of the *testimony*, than the former; For 1. supposing this *Copie* of Mr. *Mostons* to be a *transcript*, not the *original* (as it is evident *S. H. Spelman* supposeth) what difficulty is there to imagine, that that *Copie* was *transcribed* by one unskilful in the *Orthographie* of that *language*, especially when it is known, how ordinary this is to be found, not only among the *vulgar*, but among learned *Church-men* of that nation, who are fain by study to *acquire* skill of reading before they can *officiate* in that *language*. Secondly, I shall readily *grant*, or, if he please, *yeild* to the force of his *arguments*, that the *Welch lines* are not the *words*, or *language* wherein *Dinot* delivered his *answer*, but (as this *Gentleman* after contends) that *Dinot*, a *writer* of *Latine Books*, being to speak to *Augustine*, that understood not the *British language*, gave his *answer* in *Latine*; What hinders now, but that this *Latine answer* being conserved among the *Britans*, might in later times (before *Henry the eight*) in any age to which the *idiome* of the *Welch lines* shall direct a *Critick* in that *language* to affix them, be translated into *imperfect* (I mean more *modern*) yet *intelligible Welch*, either by a *native* of that *Countrey*, or by any other, who had acquired so much of that *language*, as was sufficient for no weightier an *enterprise*? I discern not what *disadvantage* I
 can

can receive by this *concession*, and then sure there will be small difficulty in *vindicating* Sir Henry's integrity, if this shall be supposed; For he no where pretends, that the *Cambrian lines*, in the form here presented, were the *language*, or words of the answer of *Dinot*, but that the matter of his answer, in what *language* soever delivered by him, is communicated to us by that *MS.* And that it was not, here is no word of so much as *probable argument*, much less of *clear demonstration* tendered by the *Author* of this *Appendix*.

36. Lastly, for the two words which occasioned his charge of the *English mixtures*, I am, by those which have skill in the language, enabled to return him some answer, that the word *help*, from whence is the infinitive *helpio* or *helpu*, is found used by *Tudor Aled*, who wrote an: 1490. and by *Lluellyn*, who is thought to be more *antient*, and that *gleimio*, or *cleimio* is by the *Latine and Welch Dictionary* set down in the word *vendico*, in the first place, (and after that *holi*) as the most proper *Welch* word for it, not borrowed from the *English*; From whence as I shall not conclude, that these *Welch lines*, were the original of *Dinot's* answer. (that were to retract my former concession) so I may safely assume, that these two words (his onely instances of *English mixtures*) doe no way demonstrate this *Welch translation* to be later than *Henry the Eighth's* cashiering the *Pope's* authority (as of the *English* it was granted) nor consequently leave it under suspicion of being forged by any *Protestant*.

37. His third argument is of more seeming force, taken from the mention of this *Abbot's* subjection to the *Bishop* of *Caerleon* upon *Uske*, in which he findes two absurdities, 1. saith he, *Bangor* is very neer, if not in the *Diocese* of *Lhan Elwy*, now commonly called *S. Assaph*, 2. all *Histories* testifie that the *Archiepiscopal Seat* was removed from *Caerleon* to *S. David's* in *King Arthur's* time, who died about the year 544. i. e. 50 years before *Augustine's* first entrance into *Britain*.

38. To these two branches of probation, certainly the answer is very obvious to the first, that acknowledging and supposing that the *Monasterie* of *Banchor*, situate in *Flintshire*, though within the confines of *Chestshire*, was under the diocesan *Bishop* either

p. 409.

either of *S. Asaph*, or of *Chester* the *Episcopal See* of *Bangor* lying in the *County* of *Caernarven*) yet this can be of no manner of force against this *testimony*, for he that was under the *Bishop* of *S. Asaph*, as his *immediate superior*, or *diocesan*, may yet be under the *Bishop* of *Caerleon*, as his *Metropolitan*, as he that is under the *Bishop* of *Rocheſter* in one reſpect, is under the *Bishop* of *Canterbury* in another. And ſo that is a full answer to his firſt difficulty.

39. For the ſecond, it is acknowledged that before this time of *Dinoh's* answer to *Auguſtine*, the *Archiepiſcopal See* had been by authority of *Synod* removed firſt from *Caerleon* to *Landaffe* by *Dubritius*, Anno 512. and ſo it is affirmed by *Sir Hen: Spelman* in his *Apparat*: p. 25. (where by the way lin: 5. the *Printer* hath miſtaken *ad Meneviam* for *ad Landaviam*) and in like manner by his ſucceſſor *S. David*, Anno 516. by licence from *King Arthur*, from *Landaff* to *Menevia*, which from that eminent *Bishop*, under whom that change was made, was after called *S. Davids*. But this removal of the *Metropolitcal See* from one city to another was not of ſuch weight or conſideration, but that the *Metropolitcal dignity*, having been ſo long fixt at *Caerleon*, might ſtill retain that title after the tranſlation.

40. Beſides, the *Abbot* of *Bangor* making answer to *Auguſtine's* claim, which was founded in ſome old right, which he pretended the *Pope* to have over all *Churches*, it was moſt proper to conteſt this by former practice, not onely how it ſtood at that preſent, but eſpecially how it had been ἀνὰ τὴν ἀρχαίαν, of old, or from the beginning, by cuſtome immemorial, and herein not to conſider ſuch immaterial changes, as were the removing of the *Primate's See* from one city to another, but to look on it, as it had alwaies layn, in oppoſition to all foreign *jurisdiction*: And it being certain that *Caerleon* was antiently this *Prime See*, nothing was more agreeable to this conteſt, as it is ſuppoſed to be managed by that *Abbot*, than thus to referre to the ἀρχαία ἔθνη (as the *Councils* of *Nice*, and *Antioch*, and *Chalcedon*, and *Ephesus* had done, in the like controversies) to tell *Auguſtine* that the *British Chriſtians* had alwaies, from their firſt plantation, been under a
British

British Primate, and to call the *British Primate* by that title, which had most antiently belonged to him, i. e. *Bishop of Caerleon*, and not by the later of *Landaffe*, or the yet later of *S. Davids*.

42. What this *Author* here objects against the former of these answers, saying, 1. That this is not proved. And 2. that it implies a contradiction to say the *See* was translated, and the former title still retained, Translation importing the taking a new, and desertion of the old title,] is no way applicable to this second answer (which consequently remains in full force) and therefore I need not farther attend to it; And in relation to the former answer, It is farre from the promised clearnesse of demonstration.
43. For as to the first part of it, the thing may be true, though it be not proved, the contrary must be proved by him that promiseth clear or demonstrative confutations: And for the second, it must be founded in some new notion of Contradiction, which my *Logick* hath not acquainted me with, for sure he that saith the *See* was translated, and the former title retained, doth neither say that the *See* was translated and not translated (which is the only form of a Logical contradiction) nor that the former title was retained and not retained; Nor consequently can I discern the least inconvenience, much lesse contradiction, either direct, or by way of implication, that the *Metropolitical See* being translated from *Caerleon* to another city, the *Metropolitan* should still retain his original title, that of *Bishop of Caerleon*.
44. Other exceptions he proceeds to adde, but those so farre again from being, according to promise, demonstrative evidences against this testimonie, that they are no way worthy to be attended to.
45. First, that *Dinoth* would probably have answered in *Latine*, and to that I have already replied, that I may well grant he did so, and consequently that both the *Welch* and *English* in *Mr. Moston's MS.* were translations of that *Latine*.
46. Secondly, that the words in *Welch* rendred [whom you name to be Pope—] are not rightly translated; In this again I cannot contend, having no knowledge in that language, but as
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before I followed Sir Henry's translation, and finding it not very clear, did endeavour to expresse his meaning by a just Paraphrase, and thereby happily rendred the true sense of the place, so if I should now believe my teacher again, this Author, that undertakes to correct Sir Henry's translation, it would not be impossible so to render the words, as should bear a very commendous sense, and perfectly agreeable to the notion I formerly had of them.

47. But being not secure that my leader H. T. (whom now I discern to be no *Welch-man*) hath really the skill in that language, which his animadversions pretend to, I thought it more reasonable to consult some other more knowing guide, and am now from a judicious hand assured, that there is an error in the distinction between *Daad*: and *ym gleimio*, which being taken away, the true rendring of the whole is this, *Et aliam obedientiam, quam istam, non agnosco ego cujusquam esse, quem vos nominatis Papam, vel patrem patrum, vendicare & postulare, And any other obedience than that, I acknowledge not to be any mans (or to belong to any man) whom ye name Pope, or Father of Fathers, to challenge and require. This is plain sense, and still perfectly agreeable to the understanding, I formerly had of the words, and I doubt not but upon the most Critical examination it will be found to be the most literal rendring of them.*
48. The third, of the no good sense of the *English* is already answered also, by adhering to that better translation, which is as perfectly fit for our turns, as the other was imagined to be, and much more intelligible and clear, as appeared in the last number.
49. The fourth is, that the words used of the Bishop of *Caerleon* [who is to oversee under God over us] makes against the aim of the Prelatick reformers, and particularly against me, who labour to support the King's Supremacie against the Pope, whereas these words exclude the King as well as the Pope.] But certainly there is no force in this, for *Augustine's* demand, or question being onely of that obedience and subordination which belonged to the supreme Bishop, whether that were the Bishop of Rome, or the Bishop of *Caerleon*, and not at all inquiring

quiring into the *nature* or *extent* of the *regal* or *imperial* power (there being no *occasion* to suggest any such *inquirie*) the *Abbot's answer* can in no probability be *extended* any farther than the *question* extended, i. e. to the asserting the *Prime Episcopal power* to belong to the *Metropolitan* of *Caerleon* or *S. David's*, without any *subordination* to the *Pope* of *Rome*.

50. As for that which in the *fift* place he adds of the *miracle* and *divine vengeance*, in *Bede*, and so concludes his *Appendix*, to that I have spoken * already, in that which I thought * n. 19, 20. meet to *premise* to this debate, and so I have no more to adde by way of *answer* to his *exceptions*, but that I cannot sufficiently wonder, that this *Author* (so recommended to the the Reader by his *learned Friend* in the front of his Book) should make it his solemn businessse to invalidate this one *supernumerary testimony*, being withall no better provided with *arguments* to promise him *success* in it.

The End.

ERRATA.

Page 4. line 28. after *him*
 adde ,
 p.15. l.24. after *side* re: *or*
 p.33. marg: l.3. re: *Apolog:*
 l.29. after *must* adde ,
 p.36. l.32. re: *nomina*
 p.40. l.12. re: *Δελήσατε*
 l.13. re: *ἐυχερῶς*
 p. 83. l. 34. re: *περλαβῶσης*
σωνθείας
 p.15. l.24. after *πρόξει* dele ,
 p.19. l.33. after *else* adde)
 p.90. l.17. for *μῦ* re: *μῦ*
 l.20. for *the* re: *then*
 p.96. l.ult: re: *αὐτοκεφαλία*
 p.108. l.30. re: *testifie*
 p.111. marg: l.11. re: *ἐπισκο-*
πὰς

p.120. l.26. re: *it as*
 p.121. l.11. re: *Campegius*
 p.129. l.8. re: *ἔργον*
 l.6. re: *yet larger*
 p.133. l.17. re: *by this*
 p.135. l.6. re: *schism in him,*
 p.136. l.35. re: *συγχεῖται*
 p.137. l.29. re: *and shall*
 l.32. re: *extitit*
 p.138. l.ult: re: *is one*
 p.141. l.7. re: *are by us be-*
lieved to be con-
 l.24. re: *our innocence*
 p.148. l.36. re: *is utterly*
 p.150. l.7. re: *this*
 p.155. l.11. re: *the fall*
 p.160. l.36. re: *διασάφους*
 p.161. l.11. re: *Naucratius*